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Blackfoot NF6

[For information on the men's societies and their activities, see all of the above categories.]

18: Wissler NF6 Blackfoot NF6

● 575

[See Category 794 for information on the organization and activities of religious societies and cults.]

33: Bradley NF6 Blackfoot NF6

● 575

[For information on the "Soldier's Lodge", see Category 623.]

105 understand the stories they relate. I have seen these story-
512 tellers so much in earnest, so entirely carried away by the
537 tale they were relating, that they fairly trembled with ex-
538 citement. They held their little audiences spell-bound. The women dropped their half-sewn moccasin from their listless hands, and the men let the pipe go out. These stories for the most part were about the ancient gods and their miraculous doings. They were generally related by the old men, warriors who had seen their best days. Many of them are recorded in this book. They are the explanations of the phenomena of life, and contain many a moral for the instruction of youth.

535 The *I-kŭn-ŭh'-kah-tsi* contributed not a little to the enter-
575 tainment of every-day life. Frequent dances were held by the different bands of the society, and the whole camp always turned out to see them. The animal-head masks, brightly painted bodies, and queer performances were dear to the Indian heart.

484 Such was the every-day life of the Blackfeet in the buffalo
492 days. When the camp moved, the women packed up their possessions, tore down the lodges, and loaded everything on the backs of the ponies or on the travois. Meantime the chiefs had started on, and the soldiers — the Brave band of the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* — followed after them. After these leaders had gone a short distance, a halt was made to allow the column to close up. The women, children, horses, and dogs of the camp marched in a disorderly, straggling fashion, often strung out in a line a mile or two long. Many of the men rode at a considerable distance ahead, and on each side of the marching column, hunting for any game that might be found, or looking over the country for signs of enemies.

484 Before the Blackfeet obtained horses in the very first
175 years of the present century, and when their only beasts of
492 burden were dogs, their possessions were transported by these animals or on men's backs. We may imagine that in
482 those days the journeys made were short ones, the camp travelling but a few miles.

625 The I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi (All Comrades) were directly under
575 the authority of the head chief, and when any one was
[622] to be punished, or anything else was to be done which came within their province as the tribal police, it was he
674 who issued the orders. The following were the crimes which the Blackfeet considered sufficiently serious to merit punishment, and the penalties which attached to them.

682 Murder: A life for a life, or a heavy payment by the
[425] murderer or his relatives at the option of the murdered man's relatives. This payment was often so heavy as absolutely to strip the murderer of all property.

685 Theft: Simply the restoration of the property.

Adultery: For the first offence the husband generally cut
684 off the offending wife's nose or ears; for the second offence
[625] she was killed by the All Comrades. Often the woman, if
[575] her husband complained of her, would be killed by her brothers or first cousins, and this was more usual than death at the hands of the All Comrades. However, the husband could have her put to death for the first offence, if he chose.

687 Treachery (that is, when a member of the tribe went over to the enemy or gave them any aid whatever): Death at sight.

Cowardice: A man who would not fight was obliged to wear woman's dress, and was not allowed to marry.

[625] If a man left camp to hunt buffalo by himself, thereby
[575] driving away the game, the All Comrades were sent after him, and not only brought him back by main force, but often whipped him, tore his lodge to shreds, broke his travois, and often took away his store of dried meat, pemmican, and other food.

575 The tradition of the origin of the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* has else-
625 where been given. This association of the All Comrades
[561] consisted of a dozen or more secret societies, graded according to age, the whole constituting an association which was in part benevolent and helpful, and in part military, but whose main function was to punish offences against society

at large. All these societies were really law and order associations. The Mŭt′-sĭks, or Braves, was the chief society, but the others helped the Braves. 575 625

A number of the societies which made up the *I-kun-uh′-kah-tsi* have been abandoned in recent years, but several of them still exist. Among the Pi-kun′-i, the list—so far as I have it—is as follows, the societies being named in order from those of boyhood to old age:— 575 561 [178]

SOCIETIES OF THE ALL COMRADES

Tsĭ-stĭks′,	Little Birds,	includes boys from 15 to 20 years old.
Kŭk-kūnks′,	Pigeons,	men who have been to war several times.
Tŭis-kĭs′-tīks,	Mosquitoes,	men who are constantly going to war.
Mŭt′-sĭks,	Braves,	tried warriors.
Knăts-o-mi′-ta,	All Crazy Dogs,	about forty years old.
Ma-stoh′-pa-ta-kīks	Raven Bearers.	
E′-mi-taks,	Dogs,	old men. Dogs and Tails are different societies, but they dress alike and dance together and alike.
Is′-sui,	Tails,	
Ĕts-kāi′-nah,	Horns, Bloods,	obsolete among the Piegans, but still exists with Bloods. [178]
Sin′-o-pah,	Kit-foxes, Piegans,	
Ĕ-in′-a-ke,	Catchers or Soldiers,	obsolete for 25 or 30 years, perhaps longer.
Stŭ′mīks,	Bulls,	obsolete for 50 years.

There may be other societies of the All Comrades, but these are the only ones that I know of at present. The Mŭt′-sĭks, Braves, and the Knats-o-mi′-ta, All Crazy Dogs, still exist, but many of the others are being forgotten. Since the necessity for their existence has passed, they are no longer kept up. They were a part of the old wild life, and when the buffalo disappeared, and the Blackfeet came to live about an agency, and to try to work for a subsistence, the societies soon lost their importance. 575 178

575 The societies known as Little Birds, Mosquitoes, and
[883] Doves are not really bands of the All Comrades, but are
societies among the boys and young men in imitation of the
[178] *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi*, but of comparatively recent origin. Men not more than fifty years old can remember when these societies came into existence. Of all the societies of the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi*, the Sin'-o-pah, or Kit-fox band, has the strongest medicine. This corresponds to the Horns society among the Bloods. They are the same band with different names. They have certain peculiar secret and sacred ceremonies, not to be described here.

The society of the Stum'-iks, or Bulls, became obsolete more than fifty years ago. Their dress was very fine, — bulls' heads and robes.

575 The members of the younger society purchased individu-
424 ally, from the next older one, its rights and privileges, pay-
ing horses for them. For example, each member of the
432 Mosquitoes would purchase from some member of the Braves
his right of membership in the latter society. The man
who has sold his rights is then a member of no society, and
if he wishes to belong to one, must buy into the one next
[887] higher. Each of these societies kept some old men as mem-
bers, and these old men acted as messengers, orators, and
so on.

575 The change of membership from one society to another
[344] was made in the spring, after the grass had started. Two,
three, or more lodge coverings were stretched over poles, making one very large lodge, and in this the ceremonies accompanying the changes took place.

575 In later times, the Braves were the most important and
625 best known of any of the All Comrades societies. The
members of this band were soldiers or police. They were
the constables of the camp, and it was their duty to preserve
689 order, and to punish offenders. Sometimes young men
522 would skylark in camp at night, making a great noise when

people wanted to sleep, and would play rough practical 689
jokes, that were not at all relished by those who suffered 522
from them. One of the forms which their high spirits took was to lead and push a young colt up to the door of a lodge, after people were asleep, and then, lifting the door, to shove the animal inside and close the door again. Of course the colt, in its efforts to get out to its mother, would run round and round the lodge, trampling over the sleepers and roughly awakening them, knocking things down and creating the utmost confusion, while the mare would be whinnying outside the lodge, and the people within, bewildered and confused, did not know what the disturbance was all about.

The Braves would punish the young men who did such 575
things, — if they could catch them, — tearing up their 625
blankets, taking away their property, and sometimes whip- 689
ping them severely. They were the peace officers of the [171]
camp, like the *lari pūk'ūs* among the Pawnees.

Among the property of the Brave society were two stone- 575
pointed arrows, one "shield you don't sit down with," and one rattle. The man who carried this rattle was known as Brave Dog, and if it passed from one member of the society to another, the new owner became known as Brave Dog. The man who received the shield could not sit down for the next four days and four nights, but for all that time was obliged to run about the camp, or over the prairie, whistling like a rabbit.

The societies known as Soldiers and Bulls had passed 575
out of existence before the time of men now of middle age. 178
The pipe of the Soldier society is still in existence, in the hands of Double Runner. The bull's head war bonnet, which was the insignia of the Bulls society, was formerly in the possession of Young Bear Chief, at present chief of the Don't Laugh band of the Piegans. He gave it to White Calf, who presented it to a recent agent.

In the old days, and, indeed, down to the time of the 600

361 In the old days, and, indeed, down to the time of the
disappearance of the buffalo, the camp was always arranged
[575] in the form of a circle, the lodges standing at intervals
around the circumference, and in the wide inner space there
was another circle of lodges occupied by the chief of certain
[614] bands of the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi.* When all the gentes of the
tribe were present, each had its special position in the
circle, and always occupied it. The lodge of the chief of
the gens stood just within the circle, and about it his people
camped. The order indicated in the accompanying diagram
represents the Piegan camp as it used to stand thirty-five
[178] or forty years ago. A number of the gentes are now extinct,
and it is not altogether certain just what the position of
those should be; for while all the older men agree on the
position to be assigned to certain of the gentes, there are
others about which there are differences of opinion or much
[619] uncertainty. It is stated that the gentes known as Seldom
Lonesome, Dried Meat, and No Parfleche belong to that
section of the tribe known as North Piegans, which, at the
time of the first treaty, separated from the Pi-kŭn'-i, and
elected to live under British rule.

575 The lodges of the chiefs of the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* which
344 were within the circle served as lounging and eating places
for such members of the bands as were on duty, and were
council lodges or places for idling, as the occasion demanded.

484 When the camp moved, the Blood gens moved first and
[614] was followed by the White Breast gens, and so on around
the circle to number 24. On camping, the Bloods camped
first, and the others after them in the order indicated, number
24 camping last and closing up the circle.

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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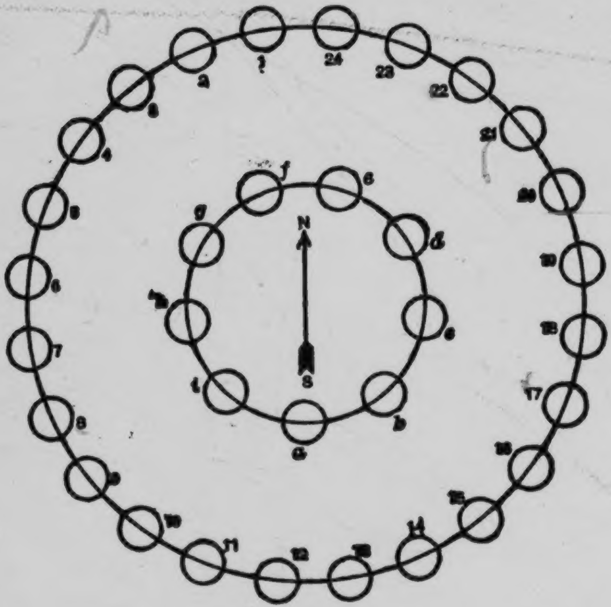
DIAGRAM OF OLD-TIME PIEGAN CAMP, SAY 1850 TO 1855. TWENTY-FOUR LODGES OF CHIEFS OF THE GENTES ABOUT THE OUTER CIRCLE.
The inner circle shows lodges of chiefs of certain bands of the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi.*



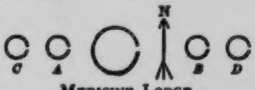
GENTES OF THE PI-KUN'-I

1. Blood People.
2. White Breasts.
3. Dried Meat.
4. Black Patched Moccasins.
5. Black Fat Roasters.
6. Early Finished Eating.
7. Don't Laugh.
8. Fat Roasters.
9. Black Doors.
10. Lone Eaters.
11. Skunks.
12. Seldom Lonesome.
13. Obstinate.
14. Lone Fighters.
15. Small Robes.
16. Big Topknots.
17. Worm People.
18. Small Brittle Fat.
19. Buffalo Dung.
20. No Parfleche.
21. Kill Close By.
22. All Chiefs.
23. Red Round Robes.
24. Many Medicines.

BANDS OF THE I-KUN-UH'-KAH-TSI

a. All Crazy Dogs.
b. Dogs.
c. Tails.
d. Kit-foxes.
e. Raven Bearers.
f. Braves.
g. Mosquitoes.
h. Soldiers.
i. Doves.

346 796 Before the Medicine Lodge is erected, four large sweat lodges are built, all in a line, fronting to the east or toward the rising sun. Two stand in front of the Medicine Lodge, and two behind it. The two nearest the Medicine Lodge are built one day, and the others on the day following. The sticks for the framework of these lodges are cut only by renowned warriors, each warrior cutting one, and, as he brings it in and lays it down, he counts a *coup*, which must be of some especially brave deed. The old men then take the sticks and erect the lodges, placing on top of each a buffalo skull, one half of which is painted red, the other black, to represent day and night, or rather the sun and the moon. When the lodges are finished and the stones heated, the warriors go in to sweat, and with them the medicine pipe men, who offer up prayers. [782]



Medicine Lodge.

While this is going on, the young men cut the centre post for the Medicine Lodge, and all the other material for its construction. The women then pack out the post and the poles on horses, followed by the men shouting, singing, and shooting.

785 796 In the morning of this day the medicine woman begins a fast, which must last four days and four nights, with only one intermission, as will shortly appear. During that time she may not go out of doors, except between sunset and sunrise. During the whole ceremony her face, hands, and clothing are covered with the sacred red paint.

346 796 When all the material has been brought to the spot where the lodge is to be erected, that warrior who, during the previous year, has done the most cutting and stabbing in battle is selected to cut the rawhide to bind it, and while he cuts the strings he counts three *coups*.

[575] The centre post is now placed on the ground, surrounded by the poles and other smaller posts; and two bands of the

346 *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi*, the Braves, and the All Crazy Dogs approach.
796 Each band sings four songs, and then they raise the
lodge amid the shouting of the people. It is said that, in old
[575] times, all the bands of the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* took part in this
ceremony. For raising the centre post, which is very heavy,
lodge poles are tied in pairs, with rawhide, so as to form
[777] "shears," each pair being handled by two men. If one of
[763] the ropes binding the shears breaks, the men who hold the
pair are said to be unlucky; it is thought that they are soon
to die. As soon as the centre post is up, the wall posts
are erected, and the roof of poles put on, the whole
structure being covered with brush. The door-way faces
east or southeast, and the lodge is circular in shape, about
forty feet in diameter, with walls about seven feet high.

Inside the Medicine Lodge, at the back, or west side, in
the principal place in the lodge, is now built a little box-shaped
house, about seven feet high, six feet long, and four
wide. It is made of brush, so tightly woven that one
[756] cannot see inside of it. This is built by a medicine man,
the high priest of this ceremony, who, for four days, the
duration of the ceremony, neither eats nor goes out of it in
the daytime. The people come to him, two at a time, and
he paints them with black, and makes for them an earnest
prayer to the Sun, that they may have good health, long
[821] lives, and good food and shelter. This man is supposed to
have power over the rain. As rain would interfere with the
ceremonies, he must stop it, if it threatens.

796 In the meantime, the sacred dried tongues have been
placed in the Medicine Lodge. The next morning, the
[782] Medicine Lodge woman leaves her own lodge, and, walking
very slowly with bowed head, and praying at every step, she
enters the Medicine Lodge, and, standing by the pile of
tongues, she cuts up one of them and holds it toward heaven,
offering it to the Sun; then she eats a part of it and buries
the rest in the dirt, praying to the Ground Man, and calling

433 Ranching and farming are the major economic pursuits of the people of
these counties. The northern and western portions contain excellent natural grazing
311 areas and are extensively used by both residents and outsiders for grazing of beef
cattle, sheep, and horses. The eastern third of Glacier county and the greater portion
of Pondera are subject to lesser amounts of rainfall than the more westerly portions
but have more frost free days, and have been utilized to a greater extent
[241] for both dry and irrigation farming. Principal crops are wheat, barley, and hay.

Oil and natural gas production and refining are important industries, with
315 the principal producing fields lying just to the east of the reservation limits. Producing
wells on the reservation in both the northeast and southeast corners may
be tapping these same fields. Oil is also being pumped in the northwest part of
the reservation and there has been revived interest recently in exploring the potential
434 of the western foothill strip. Oil lease money and bonus payments for leasing
rights have provided a fluctuating but important prop to the local economy. There
313 has been little manufacturing or lumbering, although the foothill strip, adjoining
national forests and Glacier Park, has a lumber potential that is slowly being realized
as the tribal mill in Browning increases its lumber output and new wood products
industries are being attracted to the reservation.

433 The population, with an economic base of beef, wool, grain, and hay, also
supports businesses, services, schools, churches, and government. Banking and
[453] financing institutions are available in Cut Bank, Browning, Conrad and Valier.
[657] Dependent children, and also those who are needy, aged, blind, or disabled are
provided for by the county public welfare system established by state law and
financed by tribal, county, state, and federal funds.

631 Like the other people of Glacier and Pondera counties the tribal members
are citizens of the United States and of the state of Montana. They participate in
[641] national and state politics and in the county, precinct, school district, and town
governments according to their places of residence. Reservation boundaries, it will
be seen, create an added dimension. They overlie the county system but do not
obliterate, change, or directly affect it. Democrats, Republicans, independents, and
disinterested voters play their respective parts at all levels of politics.

The reservation region is served by the Montana State Public Schools system.
871 County school districts, with one or two exceptions, cross reservation lines.
The public schools that have Indian pupils receive federal support under the Federal
Impact Area Act (PL 874) (U.S. Statutes LXIV, 1, 1950:1100) and the
Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 (U.S. Statutes XLVIII, 1934:596) which in differing
ways provide for payments to public schools in lieu of the taxes not received
872 from Indian lands held in trust. Elementary schools, varying greatly in size, plant,
873 and staff, are found in all settled and rural areas, and high schools are located at
Browning, Cut Bank, Valier and Conrad.

368 Religious and other organizations here are similar to those found elsewhere
771 in rural regions of the United States. Many denominations of Christian churches
have followers here and each town has one or several churches. Similarly, one or
575 several religious and secular lodges, service clubs, veterans' organizations, youth
clubs, ranch, business, trade, and labor organizations are found in the communities
of the area.

186 Siksika and the Kainah—who often came to the aid of the Piegan in times of
conflict.

621 While kin ties were basic to band formation, friendship and self-interest
played a part as well, and people changed bands when they felt it advantageous
[602] to do so. Ewers believes that this shifting band allegiance had developed with the
inequal distribution of wealth that followed the acquisition of the horse. Poor
people became more dependent upon the generosity of the wealthy few and attached themselves to the bands of those men who could best provide for them.

Band membership then was based first of all upon kin ties, but with no absolute rule of descent. Wives usually joined the band of their husbands and children belonged to that of their father, but it was not unusual for a man to join his wife's group. A widow could choose to remain in her husband's band or to return to that of her parents. A man could change band affiliation "even in middle life . . ." (Wissler 1911:19). Other persons attached themselves to the band for various reasons, and long residence with a band, and acceptance by its members, was tantamount to band membership.

619 The tribe was a larger association of individual bands whose members recognized common ties of language, kinship and culture. It was an organized unit only
during the few weeks of the summer hunt, and tribal discipline operated only at
[621] this time. Even here the bands retained their spatial and functional autonomy; each
band had it habitual place in the camp circle and continued to operate as an economic and political unit with only a part of its powers surrendered to the tribal organization.

• 575 Like other Plains Indians, the Piegan had a series of men's organizations, or societies, of which there were three basic types: age-graded warrior societies, religious societies and cults, and the less formal dance association.

701 The named warrior societies (Mosquitoes, Pigeons, Braves, All-Crazy Dogs,
etc.) were corporate groups, that is, they continued over time, surviving the indi-
561 vidual members. Groups of young men of a similar age sometimes started a new
society, or, more usually, got together and bought memberships in an ongoing society. Similarly the old members would in turn buy into the next age-rank. The transfer was between individuals and such purchases could occur at any time. It was customary, however, for several men to transfer at the same time. Periodic transfers of this kind made possible a progressive movement of membership from a lower to a higher ranking society as men grew older. The oldest society might continue as its ranks were renewed from below, or eventually die out as its members passed away.

These were the groups granted policing powers at the summer encampment. In addition they served to promote the military spirit of the members through war games and intersociety competition in races, dancing and games.

744 The medicine men's societies and related cults were less formally organized
gatherings of men who owned important medicine bundles and powers. These
men conferred together to aid in the organization and presentation of the Sun
535 Dance and to promote the spiritual and material welfare of the tribe. The dance
organizations were social clubs made up of young men who organized for the purpose of staging social dances during the time of the summer encampment.

Membership in one or more of these organizations created loyalties that 575
cut across the ties of kinship and band affiliation, and helped to contribute to tribal
solidarity. In other words, a person identified first with his kinsmen and with his 182
band, but later established additional and potentially conflicting ties of loyalty by
marrying someone from another band and by membership in a society that drew
its members from many bands.

Band and tribal leadership was not inherited but open to all who could 554
command a following. A band headman gained a position of influence by displaying
the qualities (see below) valued in his society and by his continued exercise 622
of these attributes. His influence depended upon his power to persuade others,
and the support of many followers increased this ability. He conferred with
family heads and all decisions were reached by mutual agreement.

Band leaders formed a council during the tribal encampment and one of 622
them, by election or selection, came to be considered the chief of the tribe. The
chief had no institutionalized authority and little disciplining power. His chiefly 619
functions were to guide the council to agreement and to mediate in cases of conflict
and uncertainty.

There were no formalized institutions for social control except for the 626
policing duties of the associations under special regulations put into effect at the
summer encampment. Conflict was first of all a matter between individuals, then [625]
a concern of the families and finally of the bands. The delinquent person was
cautioned, ridiculed, gossiped about, and shamed into conformity. Ostracism and [627]
violence were the ultimate penalties within the band, but usually gossip and shame
served to restore order. Boys and girls growing up in Piegan society were urged
to achieve the ideals of that society. Boys were told to be brave, to be good 867
fighters, able to defend themselves against their peers and to protect younger children. 183
They were praised for skills and daring, even for sexual exploits. Girls were
urged to be quiet, dutiful, sober, hard-working, and to protect their virginity.[7]
Both were rewarded with praise when they achieved, and punished with sarcasm [861]
and gossiped about when they misbehaved or failed. These sanctions contributed
to a developing concern with their own identity and to a strong sense of shame,
and such concerns in turn gave added force to these mechanisms of social control.
Gossip and shame were also used to curb intratribal conflicts among adults. A 626
cluster of tepees made an ideal setting for effective ridicule. Wissler (1911:24) 627
describes a process of "formal ridicule" that was used to curb "mild persistent
misconduct." When the people were quietly settled in of an evening, a headman
would call out to a neighbor asking him if he had heard about that silly fellow
two tepees down who had been mistreating his wife? Men in other tepees would
join in telling what they thought of the man and his behavior, all to the discomfort
of the victim and the enjoyment of everyone else. Sarcasm, ridicule, and the accompanying
laughter, added up to an evening of entertainment for all but the
victim, who was soon highly motivated to mend his ways.

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[7] The double standard in ideal sexual relations set up some strains; in order for one sex to [831]
achieve the other had to fall short of the ideal. I gather from the literature that there
was a mix of failure and success in the attainment of these ideals on the part of both boys
and girls (Ewers 1958:98).

521 591 Conference at Many Glaciers Lodge in Glacier National Park. Six of the governors who visited the encampment were honored by adoption and given names, and the Governor of Virginia was selected to respond for the others. He began by remarking that the people of Virginia felt a special and warm regard for the Indians. "If it had not been for the help of the Indians the Jamestown settlement would not have survived that first winter." A Blackfeet standing beside me gave me a dig in the ribs with his elbow and said, "that's the day we lost the war."

527 [788 575 574] The encampment also provides the opportunity for other forms of social expression. Medicine bundles are opened with attendant prayers, dances, and face-painting. Men may be "captured" to become members of the Dog society, an honor that must be paid for in goods or cash. People visit from tepee to tepee, drink coffee, eat, and talk. Sometimes one or more of the elderly Indian-oriented leaders will provide a lunch of boiled beef, bread, salad, doughnuts, cookies, cake, and coffee to all who wish to come.

524 By midafternoon a stick game or two gets under way near one of the concesion booths behind the tent area and usually continues until dawn. Sometimes known as the "hand game," this is a popular and widely known Indian gambling game. All that is required is space, two poles, planks, or timbers placed about three feet apart parallel to each other, two "bones," or short wooden cylinders about ½ inch in diameter and two inches long, one banded and the other plain, and some plain sticks about ten to twelve inches long, usually ten to a side to use as markers. Two teams line up facing each other behind each pole. One person starts the game by intently shuffling, showing, and after many flourishes hiding the bones, one in each hand. His team chants and drums with sticks on the pole in front of them to give him support and to confuse the opposition during the hiding. Finally he extends his hands so that one of the players on the other side can choose by one of several signs which hand holds the unmarked bone. If the "guesser" fails to choose correctly, his side forfeits one of their marker sticks and the "hider" tries again; if he guesses correctly, the bones and roles change sides. The game is [525] over when one side wins all of the marker sticks. Bets between individuals, both participants and onlookers, are placed before the game begins and other bets are made frequently on the results of individual guesses. There are many variations in the procedure that I have not mastered. A bettor gets a lot of action for his money whether he fully understands what is happening or not. The drumming, chanting, joking, as well as the strain of waiting for the outcome of a game in which large sums of money are at stake, contribute to an exciting time.

527 [517] People spend the rest of the time during the encampment doing the necessary chores of camp living and enjoying the pastimes appropriate to sex and age—the children play games, older people work on costumes, play blackjack, visit, loaf, or go into town.

527 177 In spite of this being a community enterprise with fairly large crowds that are attracted to it, the people in relatively continuous attendance are the Indian-oriented. The people who camp on the grounds and participate in the festivities include and appear to be like the men I interviewed and classed as Indian-oriented. In retrospect, I would sort the onlookers into four categories: (a) Indian-oriented spectators from many parts of the reservation who spend much time on

541 in by bus; children from Starr School and other nearby neighborhoods came in cars driven by a teacher or parent to join in the search with the youngsters of Browning.

Members of the Browning Youth Club and the American Legion had distributed quantities of eggs, which had been boiled and colored by school children, in the furrows and stubble of the forty acre field. Some of the eggs were marked and cash awards were given to the finders of the special eggs. Prizes, donated by service clubs and local merchants, were given also for the most eggs collected by one child and to the runner-up.

541 This was a large area and people arrived at irregular intervals. Many
watched from their cars, others moved about the periphery of the field, making
177 an accurate count of the adults difficult, but it was apparent that the majority of
those present were white and white-oriented people. Indian-oriented parents were
few and even the Indian-oriented political leaders were absent.

541 The Fishing Derbies I witnessed drew a much smaller crowd, approximately
two hundred children and sixty adults. The contests are held at a small lake adjacent to U.S. Route 2 a few miles southwest of Browning. The children fish along
the shore, while the parents help with putting on bait and removing the fish that
are caught. They cheer the children on, visit with each other, set up picnics, and
[177] eat. Everybody has a good time when a Fishing Derby is sponsored. An estimated
third of the children taking part in these contests were from Indian-oriented
families, yet only four or five Indian-oriented adults were in attendance.

● 575 In the realm of semiprivate interaction are included civic club meetings
542 and bowling tournaments. The informants and the newspaper reports indicate
an almost completely white-oriented participation in these activities.

177 Civic club membership is selective and based upon business, school, or
political leadership. The selection factors are many and complex but it is clear
575 that very few Indian-oriented people belong to these organizations—these are
177 areas of predominantly white-oriented interaction.

Newspaper reports indicate that selective factors operate to maintain a
542 predominantly white and white-oriented participation, particularly in team and
177 tournament play, at the bowling alley. Factors of social selection also work in
private gatherings and visiting patterns between families and friends. The bonds
177 of kinship draw some of the Indian-oriented into the visiting patterns of white-
574 oriented people, but these occasions are infrequent. Economic and status factors
also appear to be important determinants of Indian-oriented participation in
private activities.

Other Social Expressions of Orientation

563 The social division of the community that I am describing is given overt,
177 but inexact, recognition by the use of the labels—"mixed-blood" and "full-blood."
These "racial" stereotypes are used in many contexts but in most cases point up a
division in culture that is only partially related to the number of Indian ancestors
of any individual.

Ewers remarked on the rapid hybridization of the tribe and the decreasing

includes the majority of the white-oriented group and, in reality, is more a convenient 565
collection of a series of gradually changing ranks than it is a single status
position. The people who occupy these status positions, however, share a few
general characteristics: they are (1) regularly employed, (2) committed to individual
progress, (3) active participants in community affairs, and (4) they clearly
support and exemplify the white-oriented values.

Individuals in this classification represent a wide range of economic and
social achievement. Occupations of middle status people range from regularly [463]
employed craftsmen through clerical workers in business, agency, and council to
businessmen, politicians, small farmers, and ranchers. Not all are financially independent,
but all are building toward that goal. This is a characteristic that stands
out in the interview materials. These people think about their future and the
future of their children—they have plans for tomorrow. It shows in "Bob Sorrel
Horse's dream" reported by a poor white-oriented full-blood rancher, who, by his
industry may just qualify for middle status even though his annual cash income
seldom exceeds $2,000:

> I have this dream to get some money and fix this place up right—a nice house and a good place. First, I'd get electricity in to pump the water. I had planned to remodel the house . . . to have a place I'm not ashamed of.

Yet while he dreams, this man acts. He cared for his small herd of thirteen head [231]
of cattle and a few horses, had a sound shelter and well-maintained corrals for the
stock. The grounds around the house were uncluttered, all garbage and debris was [351]
in one pile some distance from the house. A good supply of firewood was cut and
stacked near the house. A clothesline, outhouse, and small utility shed were all [343]
in good order.

The house in which six people lived was an old log structure with two 565
rooms on the ground floor and one loft room above. It was well chinked and the
old hand split shake roof was in good repair. Water was carried from a pitcher 362
pump mounted at the well a few feet from the cabin door; there was no electricity, [342]
and gas lanterns provided the light. A wood range provided the heat. The interior 365
walls were painted, cotton curtains hung at the windows and a worn rug covered
part of the linoleum floor. The home furnishings consisted of a painted washstand, [354]
wooden table, wooden chairs, a kitchen cupboard, one double and two single [353]
beds, homemade closets, a nightstand, and a high chair. Family photos, a calendar, [352]
a radio, two rifles, fishing gear, and other family possessions were to be seen. The
children's bicycle, tricycles, wagon, and a stroller were stored in the shed out back.
A zinc washtub hanging outside on the front wall of the cabin provided the clue [296]
to the laundry facilities. Everything was worn, clean, orderly and in good repair.
This man was poor, yet he maintained what he had and dreamed of something
better in the future.

At the upper end of the scale, this same concern for the future is expressed 565
by the well-to-do rancher, quoted in the earlier chapter, who built up his ranch
for the boys and was concerned that the youngest son had no future with the
railroad.

Middle status people join the service clubs, farm and cattle associations, [575]

565 and support and participate in community improvement projects. The leaders of
[575] F.F.A., 4-H, Boy and Girl Scouts, and the Youth Club are either whites or tribal
members of this class. These people sponsor the Easter Egg Hunts, the Fishing
[541] Derbies, local sports events, and often the rodeos. They are not always the leaders,
but are the active supporters of community, church, and school enterprises.

565 Middle status people are active politically. Tribal council positions and a
few county elective offices are sought and often won by people of this classifica-
666 tion, and they are actively supported or opposed, advised or criticized, by their
peers.

565 People of middle status tend to live in well-constructed, well-maintained
362
342

Two kinds of rural housing.

565 homes. For example, Ray Hawkins, whose annual income was about $3,500, lived
362 with his wife and four children in a four room frame house. It was freshly painted
inside and out and the composition roof was in good condition at the time of my
[434] visit. There was a fenced yard, with lawn and flower beds, an outdoor fireplace
[342] and a picnic table. This house had electricity, inside plumbing with both hot
[351] and cold water supplied to the bathroom and kitchen. The interior walls were all
lined and painted; the floors were wooden, covered with cotton rugs in the living
[365] room and bedrooms and with linoleum in the kitchen and bath. The compara-
tively large kitchen had built-in cabinets around and over the sink, an electric
565 range and refrigerator, a heavy dining table, and solid wood chairs. There were
362 cotton curtains at the windows. The bedrooms had built-in closets, beds and chests
352 of drawers. The living room was well furnished with a fairly new davenport and
353 living room chairs, each with its antimacassar. There was a coffee table, an otto-
man, a piano, table lamps, a record player, and a radio. The windows were draped

[ca. 1800-1850]

Maximilian and Bodmer spent more than a month at Fort 648
McKenzie, in the heart of the Blackfoot country. During this
period (August 9–September 14, 1833) all three Blackfoot tribes 175
came in to trade. While Bodmer was busy making excellent [439]
water color portraits of many of the most influential chiefs and drawing a panoramic view of the great camp of the Piegans, the Prince recorded his observations of Blackfoot customs and of the conduct of the trade at Fort McKenzie.

Mitchell was making definite progress wooing the Blackfoot
trade away from the Hudson's Bay Company. At the conclusion 648
of a feast given by the Northern Blackfoot chief Iron Shirt, that 439
leader gave Mitchell the scarlet uniform with blue facings and yellow lace which he had received from the "Northern White Men." Later Mitchell gave the Piegan leader, Bear Chief, a handsome uniform, a red felt hat ornamented with feathers, and a new double-barreled percussion gun, to let the other chiefs see "how the American Fur Company distinguished its faithful friends."

Prince Maximilian was the first white observer to describe the
Blackfoot men's societies. He named seven of these fraternities 175
and noted that they were age-graded. That is, young men pur- 575
chased membership in the Mosquito Society and gradually pro- [561]
gressed through the other societies to the Bull Society of elderly men. Each society had its peculiar regalia, songs, and dances. All societies except the Mosquitos and Bulls assumed responsibilities for keeping order in the camp. He also witnessed and briefly described the dramatic reinactment of the driving of buffalo into a pound by the colorfully garbed members of the Women's Society.

Maximilian was disappointed in the information he obtained 175
about Blackfoot religion, explaining, "Mr. Berger the interpreter,
who was otherwise well acquainted with the Blackfoot Indians, 771
could not give me any information respecting their religious 776
ideas, further than that they worship the sun."[27]

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[26] Maximilian, *Travels*, II, 46, 71–76.

[27] *Ibid.*, 112–17, 122.

[ca. 1850]

851 233 care of the family horse herd. The boy herder rose before daylight to go after the horses in their night pasture and drove them to a near-by lake or stream for water. Then he drove them to good pasturage near camp and returned home to breakfast. He watched the grazing herd during the day and drove it to water at noon and again in late afternoon. Toward evening he drove the herd to night pasture and hobbled the lead mare to prevent the herd from straying.

883 231 Boys who had lots of nerve began to break horses for riding when they were twelve or thirteen years of age. The easiest and least dangerous way to break broncs was in a pond or stream. Two boys rode double on a trained horse, leading the bronc by a rope or halter. They rode into the water until the bronc was up to its shoulders. Then the front rider held the lead rope close to its chin while the other boy climbed on its back. The lad on the trained horse quickly passed the rope to the bronc rider. As soon as the bronc felt the weight of the boy on his back, he began to jump and buck, but as soon as his head got wet, he quieted down. He tired quickly, and the boy rode him out of the water. If the bronc still showed a lot of spirit it was led back into the water again for another session.

At other times boys led a bronco into a muddy or swampy area to break it. Then one of them jumped on its back. When the horse tried to buck, its feet sank into the mire. If the rider was thrown, he would not be hurt. The horse's spirit was broken before it could get out of this boggy training ground.[9]

883 Orphaned boys could find homes with wealthy families by looking after the large horse herds and assisting in the hunt. [224] All boys began to hunt buffalo calves in their early teens, and not long thereafter they graduated to hunting adult buffalo and [231] some of them began to join horse-raiding parties. Only the sons of wealthy men could look forward to a good marriage before they had begun to accumulate a herd of their own horses.

[575] [561] [432] In their late teens a group of young men banded together to purchase membership in the lowest of the graded men's societies

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[9] Ewers, "Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture," B.A.E. *Bull* 159, 60-64.

[ca. 1850]

at the tribal sun dance encampment. They selected a leader, who 883
presented a pipe to the leader of the society. Each of the other 575
youths gave pipes to other members of the society. If the pipes 561
were accepted, the petitioners were expected to make other 432
gifts of horses and valuable goods to those who relinquished
their society membership to them and who taught them the
ceremonial procedures of the organization. It was usual for societies to sell out to a group of younger men every four years.

There were seven of these age-graded men's societies among 561
the Blackfeet in 1833. The youngest group was then the Mos- 575
quitos, the oldest the Buffalo Bulls. Two decades later the Bulls Society among the Piegans had become inactive on account of the death of many of its older members, but a new society, the Pigeons, or Doves, had been added to the bottom of the series.[10]

Because members of these societies belonged to different hunting bands, they were only active during the summer season when
the tribal camp was organized. At that time the head chief called [625]
upon one or two of the societies, usually the younger of the
mature groups, to police the camp and the tribal hunt. In the [796]
sun dance camp each society performed its peculiar ceremony. Collectively, the men's societies were known as the All-Comrades.[11]

There was another and even closer relationship between boys 572
of the same band, that of partners. Two boys of about the same age became close companions. They played together as children, helped each other in courting girls, went to war together, and offered advice and assistance to each other whenever it might be needed. If a young man was wounded in battle, his partner risked his life to carry him to safety and stayed behind the rest of the war party until the disabled man was able to be helped home. In many instances this close friendship and mutual assistance between partners continued through the rest of their lives.

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[10] Maximilian, *Travels*, II, 112–17.

[11] Clark Wissler, "Societies and Dance Associations of the Blackfoot Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, Vol. XI, Part 4, 361–450. Includes detailed description of specialized paraphernalia and ceremonies of each society.

[ca. 1850]

575 There was a women's society among the Blood and Northern
[184] Blackfoot tribes which was unknown among the Piegans. Its
members were wives of the most highly respected men in their
575 tribes. Prior to the sun dance in summer, members of this Matoki
society built a ceremonial lodge which resembled a buffalo corral,
796 and on the final day of their four-day ritual re-enacted the drive
of buffalo into the corral. Some of the members wore buffalo
headdresses and mimicked the actions of buffalo.[12]

888 The aged were no longer abandoned on the plains as had been
[761] the common lot of enfeebled old people before the Blackfeet
acquired horses. If an old man or woman was too feeble to ride
[178] alone, he or she was carried on the A-shaped horse travois. If
the head of a family knew he was about to die, he called his
763 relatives together and told them how he wished his horses and
other property divided among them. If he died without having
768 made such a verbal will, the other people in camp made a run
for his property as soon as they heard his relatives weeping and
wailing. Men ran for his horses; women went for his household
equipment. The men might take all his best horses and leave
the poorest ones for his widow. Close relatives of the deceased,
preoccupied with mourning his loss, made no attempt to prevent
this raid on his property. Custom decreed that they should not
do so. These raids were made with particular relish upon the
property of a man of wealth who had had a reputation for miserliness during his lifetime.

763 No such action followed the death of a highly respected, generous leader. His lodge interior was carefully arranged just as it
764 had been when he had entertained prominent guests. His body
was dressed in his finest clothing and laid upon a raised platform
of poles in the center of his lodge. Then his relatives painted
simple representations of his brave war deeds on his favorite
horse, braided its mane and tail and tied feathers in them, and
placed his best saddle on the horse's back. In the presence of
all the people of the camp this horse and others to be sacrificed
were led to the door of the death lodge. Each in turn was shot

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[12] *Ibid.*, 430-35.

in sizable herds, more frequent moves were necessary. Generally, the 221 more successful the hunting, the fewer camp movements were required 361 during the fall season. Although the fall hunting season may be considered as ending with the establishment of the winter camp, the 224 Blackfoot continued to hunt buffalo and prepare meat for eating in the severe winter months during the months of November and December or until heavy snows and bitter cold restricted this activity. In the years prior to about 1850 they employed drives over cliffs or into pounds constructed in the vicinity of the winter camp in this early winter hunting.

This summary of the Blackfoot yearly round suggests that the 221 Blackfoot were less "nomadic" than a literal interpretation of that word would imply. Blackfoot nomadism varied with the seasons and was conditioned by the food supply, the weather, and the Sun Dance ceremony. Some five months were spent in winter quarters. Nearly a month was required for assembly of the tribal encampment in early summer during which the bands that arrived early remained in one locality for several weeks (if the food supply permitted). Eight or ten days were spent in the Sun Dance encampment in late summer. The Blackfoot were most "nomadic" in spring, mid-summer, and fall.[*]

MOVEMENT OF A BLACKFOOT BAND CAMP

PREPARATION FOR MOVEMENT

Preparations for movement of a Blockfoot band camp were similar 484 but on a smaller scale and less complicated than those undertaken for 619 the movement of an entire tribe during the summer hunting season preceding the tribal Sun Dance. In the latter case the band chiefs met the night before the camp was to be moved and reached a decision as to the direction and destination of the next day's journey. The head 484 chief called the leaders of four men's societies and delegated to each of 619 them responsibilities for guarding the camp en route. Members of 575 one society were told to scout ahead of the main body, those of a second society were instructed to guard it on the left, those of a third society were told to guard it on the right, and those of the fourth society were asked to remain in camp until all of the others had moved off and to bring up the rear as rear guards. The decision of the head chief, 484 reached after consultation with the band chiefs, was announced to the 619 people of the large camp by the chief's herald on the night before the 203

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[*] Jenness' description of the Sarsi yearly round during "the early nineteenth century" divides the year into 5 seasons, although the rhythm of relatively active and passive nomadism appears very like that of the Blackfoot (Jenness, 1938, pp. 11-12). [171]

541 season. Lazy Boy claimed the Piegan began racing horses in his great-grandfather's time, soon after they acquired their first horses.

175 541 The earliest description of a Blackfoot horse race refers to one held in the combined Blackfoot, Blood, Piegan, Sarsi, and Gros Ventres camp, seen by Paul Kane on June 1, 1848 (Kane, 1925, pp. 295–296). Kane's painting of that race, now in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archeology, is reproduced as plate 13, *b*.[A] The trader William T. Hamilton briefly described a match race between horses of the Crow and Piegan witnessed by him in 1858 (Hamilton, 1900, pp. 66–68). J. Willard Schultz described a match race between horses owned by Piegan and Kutenai ca. 1878 (Schultz, 1907, pp. 134–136). These descriptions are exceedingly fragmentary compared with the wealth of detailed information on old-time Blackfoot horse racing supplied by my informants.

RACE HORSES

231 541 A winning race horse was the most valuable horse a Blackfoot Indian could own. In trade a fast race horse would bring several other good horses. Nearly all racers were males, either stallions or geldings. Because courses were generally long, horses were not raced until their third or fourth year. Racers were considered in their prime from their fourth to ninth year. After that they would serve as buffalo runners for a number of years. The ideal race horse was an animal of small size and unprepossessing appearance, whose speed and endurance belied its looks. Indians liked to match a horse of this description, whose ability was not generally known, against a large, finer appearing animal, in the hope of encouraging their rivals to bet heavily and to win large stakes for themselves.

Men carefully watched boys riding year-old colts chasing buffalo calves. If they saw a colt that seemed to outdistance the others they examined it carefully. If they thought it had possibilities of becoming a good racer they trained it until it was ready to race at 3 or 4 years. The potential racer was allowed to run with the range herd much of [784] the time. It was not used for general riding or packing. There was a decided taboo against packing meat or getting blood on a race horse.

INTRATRIBAL AND INTERTRIBAL HORSE RACES

541 [648] [575] [628] [648] Although the Blackfoot participated in both intratribal and intertribal horse races in buffalo days those races best remembered, and probably most common, were the ones between two societies of the same tribe. Generally men of the same society did not race against each other, even though several men of a society might own fast horses. Intertribal races were held between the Blackfoot tribes (such as Piegan contra Blood), or between the fastest Blackfoot-owned racer and the swiftest horse owned by a neighboring non-Blackfoot tribe.

[A] [See category 541, p. 358-L--Analyst]

INTERSOCIETY RACES

At the Sun Dance encampment in late summer there was keen competition 575
between the various Blackfoot men's societies in games and
sports. These included the hoop and pole game, the hand or stick 526
game, foot racing, and horse racing. Although there was no established 575
order for these competitions the horse race generally came late
in the series. If, for example, members of one society lost to another 541
in a hand game one evening, they might challenge the winning society to a horse race the following day. Detailed descriptions by five informants (both Piegan and Blood) revealed that the challenge was issued according to a set procedure. The society wishing to make the challenge selected one of its members who had been successful in war. He dressed just as he had dressed when he counted coup on an enemy and decorated his horse as it had appeared at that time. He made a round of the camp on horseback, rode up to the lodge of the leader of the rival society, sang his personal war song, lifted his gun and fired at the lodgepoles just above their crossing. Then he shouted his society's challenge to a horse race. The rival society's leader, upon hearing the challenge, rushed out of his lodge, gun in hand, and fired his weapon in the air, shouting his acceptance of the challenge with some such boast as, "I killed an enemy, knocked him down and scalped him. You are not going to scalp me." The challenger then circled the camp again, stopping at the lodge of the leader of his society to formally report the acceptance of his challenge.

The challenge generally was issued early in the morning. Later that day the leader of the challenged society called a meeting of its members. They chose a delegation to visit the leader of the challenging society in his lodge. At this meeting between leaders of the two societies there generally was a great deal of joking and bantering back and forth before they settled down to the business of discussing detailed plans for the race. Then they decided upon the location and distance of the course, time of the race, the horses to be run, and the starters and judges.

Intersociety races were almost always match races, one horse entered by each society. Weasel Tail recalled one race in which each society agreed to enter two horses with the understanding that the winning horse would win all the bets. The course usually was a fairly level stretch of plain near the encampment, permitting the running of the race on a straightway. However, occasions were remembered when no straight course was convenient to the camp, in which case the race was run from the starting point around a low distant hill and back to the starting point again. In that case two judges, one man from each competing society, were stationed on top of the hill to see that neither jockey took an unfair advantage of the other while rounding

575 541 the hill out of sight of the crowd at the start and finish mark. The distance to be run always was measured by eye. The most frequently mentioned straightway distance was "about as far as you could barely see a horse on the open plain." Some courses were longer. Races were recalled in which the horses at the starting point could be seen from the finish only through a spy glass. Generally the distance was from 2 to 4 miles, very rarely shorter. Informants' statements thus tallied closely with Bradley's reckoning (in the 1870's) that Blackfoot horse races generally were run over a course of "three or four miles" (Bradley, 1923, p. 276).

There was a strict rule requiring each horse entered by a society to be the property of a member of that society. Usually each society had held trials some time prior to the race in which the fastest horses were run to determine the intersociety race entrant for that year. These trials were held in secret at some distance from the encampment. On the day of the race the two horses entered were watched carefully by members of the respective societies who were warned to [789] keep other people away from the competing horses. The greatest precaution was taken to prevent a horse medicine man from coming near the race horses for fear that he might use his secret power to make one of the horses tire or falter in the stretch. (See p. 272, on the powers of Blackfoot horse medicine men.)

541 Informants did not agree on the method of selection of the jockeys. Some said a jockey was selected by the owner of the race horse. Others claimed the society as a body chose the jockey. However, it is clear that jockeys usually were relatives of the horse owners. They were light, thin, adolescent boys or young men who knew how to handle [291] [302] [492] horses in races. Jockeys usually wore only breechclouts and tied their hair behind their heads to keep it from blowing in their faces. Generally they rode bareback with only a war bridle (a two-reined rawhide rope looped once about the horse's lower jaw) and a whip to control the horse.

The finish line of the race was sometimes just a furrow scraped in the earth across the course. At other times it was marked by two piles of rocks, each about 3 feet high, erected some 60 feet apart. Each pile was set up by members of one of the competing societies. They were men who had used rock fortifications in the defense against the enemy.

541 525 Shortly before the race the two competing horses were brought to the finish line where the crowd gathered to view them and place bets on their favorites. Betting usually was heavy, by nonmembers as well as members of the rival societies. Horses were commonly wagered, the horses bet against each other were tied together and held by some lad. Guns, robes, blankets, and food were common stakes. A man might wager his pad saddle against another's bow, arrows, and

quiver. Even painted lodges, together with all their sacred paraphernalia, 541
were bet on the outcome of races. However, the winner
of a painted lodge was required to submit to the ceremony of transfer 525
before he could gain possession of that lodge. Even though he won 525
the lodge, he was expected to give the former owner a horse at the
time of formal transfer. On the other hand, if it was discovered that 778
the loser of a painted lodge attempted to hold back any sacred article
belonging to that lodge, the winner might rub his face in manure and
the loser would have no cause for anger. Before race time great piles 541
of articles wagered stood near the finish. A man might risk any or
all of his material possessions. Although Wilson (1887, p. 192) 525
claimed the Blackfoot wagered their wives on horse races, both
Bradley (1923, p. 276) and my informants denied this was ever done.
My informants claimed a man did not bet any of his wife's personal
property. Women, of course, bet among themselves.

As the jockeys walked their horses toward the starting point (assuming 541
the race was to be run on a straightaway) members of the
competing societies drummed, sang their society songs, and engaged 575
in good-natured horse play, pretending to reinact their coups against
members of the rival society. A man who had taken a scalp in war
would run up to a member of the rival society, knock him down, and
pretend to scalp him. If a man had stolen a horse of the same color
and appearance as one entered in the race by the rival society he might
cry out, "I stole a horse like that one of yours; I had complete power
over it. This horse of yours will be tamed too."

Two leading men, one selected by each society, served as starters.
As the jockeys neared the starting point on their way down the course, 541
they walked their horses in a wide circle, side by side, around the
starters. As they came abreast of the latter, facing the finish, the
starters gave the verbal signal "Ok'i" (now), and the jockeys whipped
their horses into a run. Lazy Boy said races sometimes were started
by a shot from a gun instead of a verbal signal. The starter, in that
case, must have been a man who had shot an enemy in warfare. If the
starter lied in his claim to that distinction, it was believed one of the
horses in that race would fall.

In order to let the spectators, gathered around the finish, know how 541
the race was progressing, two horsemen, one on a dark- and one on a 575
light-colored horse, each representing one of the competing societies,
were stationed at one side of the course about midway of its length.
As the racers came abreast of them the horseman representing the
society whose horse was in the lead at that point would weave his
horse back and forth.

There were two judges at the finish, one representing each society.
Usually, however, there was nothing to judge, for the winning horse
was a hundred yards or more in the lead. Not infrequently one horse

541 played out and was unable to finish. Rarely was it a close race all the way. Then it was the judge's duty to determine the winner. They 575 might agree upon a winner, disagree and start an argument, or declare the race a tie. In the last instance, the leaders of the two societies decided whether or not they would re-run the race that day after the horses had rested for a while, or whether the race would be re-run at some later date.

After the race was ended the gleeful winners claimed the articles they won in the betting. If a loser became angry because he thought the race had not been honest, men of the winning society knocked him down and rubbed dirt or manure on him. With the winning horse in the lead, members of the winning society formed a procession back to camp. They proceeded once around the camp circle to the lodge of that society's leader. There the winning horse was entrusted to the care of an old man, who tied it outside the lodge and sang to it. That night members of the winning society sang, danced, and rejoiced until a late hour. When all returned to their lodges after this post-race celebration the performance was over.

The losing society might challenge the winning one to a foot race or other contest. That challenge was less formal than the horse-race 575 challenge. Members of a society who had just lost a horse race 721 considered it a good time to organize a raiding party in quest of a better horse in an enemy camp—one that would enable them to turn the tables 541 on their rivals the next year. Chewing Black Bones told of the persistent attempts of one society to capture a fast race horse. The action occurred in his youth.

A member of a Piegan society that had been beaten in a horse race told his friends, "I am going to get a horse from the enemy that will beat that winner." He took a big, fast bay from the Crow. But it was beaten the next year. Then 541 he went to the Gros Ventres and captured a little gray horse. When the returning party was far enough from the Gros Ventres camp to rest and divide 575 the horses, they raced the horses they had captured. The little gray easily outdistanced all the others. It was small but very fast. Next summer in the secret trials to select that society's race horse, the little gray horse finished far ahead of all his competitors.

At the sun dance encampment this society challenged the one that had beaten them the two preceding years. When members of the rival society saw the little gray they made fun of it. Arrangements for the race were soon made. The society entering the little gray suggested, "Last year you beat us. You set the distance." Their rivals, thinking a long course would tire the little gray horse, proposed a longer distance than was usually run. Most Piegan thought the course was too long for the little gray. Betting was heavy against it. But one old man said, "Don't make fun of that little horse. It is small but it may have great power." The race started. At about the half-way point the jockey on the little gray horse was still holding him back, while his rival on a big bay was whipping his mount hard. Then the rider on the little gray horse gave him the whip. He won by a long distance.

541 Schultz (1907, pp. 134–136) described a match race between a
648 Piegan-owned horse and one belonging to a Kutenai in the summer
ca. 1878. The betting was excessive, horses bet against each other
[525] being held by some nonbetting boy. The course was a level stretch of
about 500 yards. The youthful jockeys, naked except for the breech-
[291] clout, raced from a standing start across a finish line marked by a
furrow scraped across the dusty course. The horses finished in a dead heat and precipitated a fight, both Piegan and Kutenai claiming they had won.

These two cases suggest that intertribal horse races were not conducive to friendly relations between the tribes involved. In most respects the race procedure appears to have been similar to that of the intratribal Blackfoot races. However, the standing start was not typical of the latter races, and the distances run appear to have been shorter than was usual in intratribal races.

LATER HISTORY OF BLACKFOOT HORSE RACING

541 The popular intersociety horse races ended with the breakdown of
● 575 the Blackfoot men's societies in the 1870's. Curtis (1911, vol. 6, pp.
20–29) reported that with the exception of the Raven Bearers and
178 the Brave (or Crazy) Dogs all Piegan societies became ceremonially
[525] inactive before 1880. In 1894, Captain Cooke, Acting Agent, Black-
feet Reservation, Mont., reported that he had prohibited gambling among the Indians in his charge and had discouraged "other pernicious practices, such as horse racing" (U. S. Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1894, p.
541 159). However, this did not put a stop to Blackfoot horse racing.
Informants remembered a number of exciting match races in the early years of this century, and McClintock witnessed horse races in the Sun Dance encampment of the Piegan prior to 1910 (McClintock, 1910, p. 278).

In recent years horse races have appeared on the program of the Blackfeet Rodeo at Browning each July. In the summer of 1941, during my residence at Browning, a new oval track was built at the rodeo grounds immediately west of the Museum property. Horse races were held each day of the rodeo. So popular were these races that in succeeding years race meets were held on the same grounds on Memorial Day and again on Labor Day, as well as during the July rodeo period. The spring and fall races were attended primarily by Indians, who showed marked enthusiasm for them. However, the older men among my informants opined that the horses were not as fast as they used to be in their youth. Frank Red Crow had the same opinion of race horses on the Blood Reserve in recent years. "They are too big. Their legs are too heavy."

171 541 necessary to infer such influence to explain the Indians' preference for long races. Endurance was a quality the Plains Indians required of their war and hunting horses. It should not seem strange that they expected the same attribute of their race horses. Consequently Plains Indian horse races were tests of the competing horses' endurance rather than their sprinting ability. As Ferris noted of Flathead horse races, they "generally terminate[d] in favor of bottom rather than speed" (Ferris, 1940, pp. 95–96).

HORSE SYMBOLISM IN INTERSOCIETY HOOP AND POLE GAMES

575 526 231 The series of competitions between rival Blackfoot men's societies during the Sun Dance encampment included hoop and pole games in which horse symbolism played a prominent role. One society challenged another by sending tobacco to its leader. If the challenged society feared the prowess of the other at this game their leader sent the tobacco back and the challengers presented it as a gift to the sun. If the tobacco was accepted the challenge was also.

[533] The game was played on a level stretch of ground about 30 feet long, across each end of which a log was placed at right angles to the length of the course. Before game time members of one society gathered around the log at one end of the course and sang their ceremonial songs. Men of the other society sang around the other log. Each society selected a member with a brilliant war record who was especially adept at this game to represent it.

[237] [822] The hoop used in intersociety contests was fashioned of the neck cord of a buffalo, burnt and shrunk to make it hard. It was about 3 inches in diameter, with 5 or more spokes and an open center. Each spoke was strung with a different color of large necklace beads. Each color represented a different-colored horse. A red bead symbolized a sorrel, white a white, black a black, copper a bay, yellow a buckskin, etc. The poles were of arrow form with metal heads and feathering, but considerably longer than the war or hunting arrow shot from a bow. On plate 13, *a*, A is shown a North Piegan hoop (3.2 inches in diameter) and two poles (34.2 inches long), collected in 1901 (cat. No. 69351, Chicago Mus. Nat. History). My Blood informant, Heavy Head, owned a similar set, made ca. 1907.

[782] The spectators, many of whom had bet on the outcome of the play, lined the sides of the course. They were silent as the two players stepped upon the course. Each competitor (usually one man represented each society, although by mutual agreement each society might enter two men) in turn raised his pole toward the sun and offered a short prayer in such words as, "See me. See this arrow. See how it is painted. That is how my arrow was painted when I killed a Crow. I shall shoot to win because what I say is true." Each con-

A [See category 526, p. 358-L--Analyst]

testant then verbally declared his target on the hoop in terms of 575 his own past war deeds. One might call out, "I took a white horse from the Flathead. I shall shoot for the white beads." The other 526 might declare, "I took a sorrel horse from the Crow. I shoot for the 231 red beads." It was thought that if a player lied in declaring his coup he would surely lose.

Generally the players agreed upon which of them was to roll the 526 hoop. Some men preferred to roll it so they would have a better knowledge of its speed and course. Others preferred to let their opponent roll the hoop and concentrated their attention upon throwing the pole with accuracy. If the players couldn't agree upon which was to roll the hoop, the one with the better war record was given his choice. Before rolling, each man spat upon the head of his arrow. Then the roller lifted the hoop to the sun and rolled it toward the log at the far end of the course. Both men ran after it and cast their poles before the hoop struck the log. If the pole of one player pierced the center of the ring he won. If neither pole passed into the hoop center that man won whose pole was in contact with the colored beads of his choice when the hoop stopped after rebounding from the log barrier. The game continued until one man either pierced the center hole with his pole or scored his declared point. Usually it was not necessary to roll the hoop more than twice before the winning point was scored. Each society had a judge stationed [575] at each end of the course, to determine the winner.

Curtis (1928, vol. 18, p. 187) briefly mentioned the horse symbolism 526 of beads in the hoop and pole games played between Blackfoot societies. He also claimed the beads might have represented guns or 231 other objects taken from the enemy. If objects other than horses were symbolized, the several informants (both Piegan and Blood) who described this game to me did not know of that fact. Blackfoot traditions claim that the hoop and pole game was known to these Indians long before the introduction of horses. Elderly informants told the story of the game between Napi, the Blackfoot trickster and creator, and a Kutenai on the Oldman River in the dateless past. They played for control of the buffalo. Napi won, and "that is why there were no buffalo west of the Rockies." Certainly Thompson (1916, p. 359) reported the playing of the hoop and pole game by the Piegan before 1800, although he made no mention of horse symbolism in the hoop or of intersociety competitions. In my informants' youth many young men played hoop and pole simply as a gambling game. Such games were less formal than the intersociety contests. There was no counting of coups prior to play, and the contestants simply denoted their targets by the color names of the beads. It would appear that [178] the introduction of horse symbolism into the intersociety hoop and

Rape, selling of a daughter, wife, mother, sister or other woman to 671
another Indian or white man; beating one's wife, assault, threat to kill
another Indian; theft or sale of horses stolen from a white man; and 673
the buying, selling, or keeping of intoxicating liquors were listed as 177
offenses punishable by fine or imprisonment in this first written code
of laws for the Blackfoot. For some offenses (theft, assault, threat to 681
kill) payment of the fine in "horses, robes and peltries" was specified.
These were the Indian possessions that had the greatest monetary
value in the white man's culture. Probably that fact, rather than
desire to follow Indian tradition in the payment of fines, influenced the
Government in spelling out its punishments in that revolutionary legal
document.

THE HORSE IN SOCIETY ORGANIZATION AND CEREMONIES

Green Grass Bull cited a Piegan tradition to the effect that the 575
custom of purchasing membership in a society originated shortly
after the organization of the first men's society in that tribe, when 432
another group of men sought to obtain this society from its organizers. Of Blackfoot societies Maximilian (1906, vol. 23, p. 117) wrote in 1833, "New members are chosen into all these unions who are obliged to pay entrance; medicine men, and the most distinguished men, have to pay more than other people."

Green Grass Bull gave a generalized description of society purchase, minor details of which differed from society to society.

> A group of men all about the same age, decided to join a society. They selected a wealthy young man for a leader. Each man took a pipe filled with tobacco. The leader gave his pipe to the leader of the society into which the group wished to buy. Other young men of the group each offered a pipe to a member of the society. If accepted, each society member also received presents from the petitioner who offered him his pipe. Sometimes these gifts were horses, but they might be something else.

The Blood Indian women's society, Matoki, formerly erected a 575
lodge, open at the top and surrounded by horse travois implanted in
the ground with their upper extremities tied to the lodge framework. 344
Scraping White said that he had been told the Matoki used dog travois around their lodge in the same way prior to the acquisition of horses. He was unaware of the symbolism. However, if the Matoki ceremony of driving buffalo into the park (lodge) seen by Maximilian in 1833 (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, pp. 112–115) dates back to pre-horse days, the symbolism is clear. It was a ceremonial enactment of the driving of buffalo into a pound surrounded with upended dog travois, reported by Weasel Tail as traditional hunting procedure in pre-horse days. In the course of its history the Matoki Society apparently substituted the more recent horse travois for the older dog travois in the construction of their lodge.

778 342 claimed Wolf Call formerly owned the horse-painted lodge and transferred it to a North Blackfoot medicine man before he died. Other informants denied this. One man claimed the horse-painted lodge of the Piegan was of Gros Ventres origin.

THE SOUTH PIEGAN BLACK HORSE SOCIETY

221 535 575 Jim Walters said that Mountain Chief (who died in 1942) originated a dancing society known as the Black Horse Society. Mountain Chief preserved the head of a black horse he had stolen from the enemy. During his dance he carried this head on a stick, and gave away horses. Jim's father obtained the horsehead from Mountain Chief and gave the dance, giving away good horses and receiving poor ones in return. Jim told his father it wasn't worth keeping. His father gave the head to John Two Guns, who kept it for a while, then gave it to someone else, who probably threw it away. At the Christmas dance at Starr School in 1942, a dance by members of the Black Horse Society was requested. Only one man came out to dance. There seems to have been no direct connection between this short-lived society and the horse dance of the horse medicine men, although the existence of the powerful horse medicine cult may have inspired the organization of the Black Horse Society.

EVIDENCES OF THE HORSE MEDICINE CULT AMONG OTHER TRIBES

171 Respect for the supernatural powers of horse medicine men was widespread among the Plains Indians. Although most comparative data on this subject relate to the nomadic tribes, the earliest reference to the existence of the cult appears in an account of the horticultural Arikara written by the fur trader Tabeau in 1803–04. Tabeau regarded Kakawita, chief of the Male Crow division of the Arikara, in whose lodge the trader resided, as the most influential and highly respected man in the tribe. Kakawita possessed a medicine bundle containing a little whip "which makes a famous courser out of a draught horse, and, when he hangs it on his wrist, while singing a certain song, all the horsemen who accompany him fall from their horses." Among the chief's taboos was the belief that his "powder [sic] was weakened if some one broke a bone in his lodge" (Tabeau, 1939, pp. 185–186). Three decades later Maximilian (1906, vol. 23, p. 394) noted an Arikara taboo against breaking a marrow bone in a hut. "If they neglect this precaution, their horses will break their legs in the prairie." Skinner (1914, p. 532) heard of the Plains Cree horse dance but was unable to obtain detailed information regarding it. He believed, perhaps erroneously, that it was "presumably . . . a mimetic dance to obtain increase of the herds." The anthropological literature lacks informa-

age of these societies among the Blackfoot. If the widespread distribution 177
of such societies in the Plains is taken as a criterion of age, then the exist- 561
tence of a rudimentary system of age grades is very old among the Black-
foot and probably pre-white. The fact that Blackfoot mythology refers to [773)
four basic age grades in a tale of the early days may be significant, de-
pending upon the degree of historicity we grant to their mythology. Some
Blackfoot tales are remarkable for their historical accuracy. For example, [773]
the tales which tell of their obtaining horses from the Shoshone to the west
and guns from the Cree to the east are both verified by historical material. [174)

Henday's account of 1754 suggests some policing organization, for he 175
remarks upon the excellent discipline in a camp of 200 Piegan tipis.[182] 625
Thompson in 1787 is the first specifically to mention a policing group. 575
He writes of "soldiers",—young men, married or about to be married, who
keep peace and order in camp and prevent gambling disputes.[183] Thompson 561
knew the Piegan well, and that he said nothing more of societies is significant negative evidence. Our first description of Blackfoot societies as we know them was written by Maximilian in 1833. He describes a fully developed and flourishing system of age grades and their associated
rituals.[184] Maximilian remarked that the Blackfoot age grades were almost [171]
identical with those of the Siouan tribes to the south.

Kroeber[185] and Lowie[186] have shown that there is a greater similarity 575
between certain Blackfoot societies and those of the village tribes, the 561
Mandan and Hidatsa, than between Blackfoot and Crow and Assiniboine. 177
How are we to account for these similarities? There are at least two alter-
natives. Either these similarities are due to borrowing from the south 174
through intermediary tribes, or what seems more probable, they were borrowed directly. Our knowledge of early tribal locations for our area shows
that the Blackfoot had no contact at all with the village tribes. The first
contacts in the historical period as shown by the literature and the tradition [175]
of the tribes themselves occurred in the eighteen twenties and thirties, when the American Fur Company established trading posts frequented by both the Mandan and Hidatsa and the Blackfoot. It is therefore suggested that the increase in the number of age societies took place at a relatively late period, probably in the eighteen thirties or late twenties. This development would therefore coincide with the period in which the expansion of polygyny and herding occurred. The borrowing of age grades

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[182] Henday, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

[183] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

[184] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–117.

[185] Kroeber, "The Ceremonial Organization of the Plains Indians of North America," *Congres International des Americanistes*, Quebec, 1907, p. 57.

[186] Lowie, "Plains Age Societies," *AMNH-AP*, Vol. 11, pp. 930, 938.

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

575 561 177 174 at this time is intelligible in that they were an ideal mechanism for expressing and channelizing the vertical mobility which came with the increase in wealth.

Of great significance was the effect of the fur trade upon the authority 439 177 178 622 of the chiefs. This varied at different periods in the history of the fur trade depending upon whether monopoly or competition prevailed. In periods of monopoly the fur trade had a positive effect, that is, it increased the prestige and authority of the chiefs. In periods of competition it had a disruptive effect, that is, it weakened the authority of the chiefs. The Hudson's Bay Company had had a well established trade with the Blackfoot. It had made it a matter of policy to deal only with the chiefs and headmen, and had conferred many honors upon them (medals, chief's coats, etc.) to enhance their authority over their followers. Since all trading with the whites had to be carried on through the chiefs and headmen it gave the latter a monopoly of white trading goods. With the increase in competition these conditions were altered. In order to gain a foot-hold the competitors of the Hudson's Bay Company brought their wares to the very tipi doors of the Indians and made their appeal to the younger men. The result of this policy is stated by Henry Jr.

> "It is lamentable that the natives in general, in this country, have lost that respect they formerly had for their chiefs. The principal cause of this is the different petty co-partnerships which of late have invaded this country from Canada; the consequences are now serious to us as the natives have now been taught to despise the council of their elders . . . . "[137]

The competition between the fur companies was accompanied by sharp trading practices which the Blackfoot soon learned themselves. Franklin, writing from Fort Carlton where he met some Blackfoot in 1819, said,

> "The mode of carrying on the trade (competition) is also productive of an increasing deterioration of the character of the Indians and will probably ultimately prove destructive of the fur trade itself. Indeed, the evil has already in part recoiled upon the traders, for the Indians long deceived have become deceivers in turn, and not infrequently after having incurred a heavy debt at one post, move to another, to play the same game."[138]

[888] [593] Another fur trader remarked that the authority of the elders had diminished to the point where fathers could no longer control the produce of their own sons.

> "They are all remarkably proud of being great men but still they have little or no influence over the others . . . after making the father a chief, you are sometimes

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[137] Henry and Thompson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 550.

[138] John Franklin, *Narrative of A Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, Vol. 1, pp. 130–131.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

scattered because of the limited food supply;[30] in summer, they "tended 621
to collect and move about, both for trade and for the hunt."[31] Band endog- 628
amy was "not good form but not criminal."[32] Residence, in general, was
patrilocal,[33] the young couple setting up their tipi alongside the groom's [221]
father's. It was not unusual, however, for a man to join his wife's band upon [582]
marriage.[34]

Equally significant in Blackfoot social organization were the men's [591]
societies[35] which had "certain names, fixed rules and laws, as well as their 575 ●
peculiar songs and dances" and which served "in part to preserve order in
the camp, on the march, in the hunting parties."[36] As early as the 1830's, [625]
seven such "unions" were noted, their members usually joining the young- [561]
est and gradually rising higher through the others.[37] Entrance depended
upon the payment of a fee, a medicine man and persons of distinction buy- [424]
ing in at greater cost.[38] [432]

These nomads, or "equestrian natives" as Cocking called them,[39] were 182
particularly favored by circumstance. Their country was well stocked with
the buffalo upon which they depended for food, shelter, and clothing; their
early possession of the horse and the gun, and their comparative freedom
from white pressure gave ample opportunity for effective hunting and sub-
stantial profit from an expanding fur trade. This profit was measured in 435
horses. Not only did the horse become their most valued possession, but 231
among them, as elsewhere on the Northern Plains, it formed the chief [436]
medium of exchange. Everything—trade goods, bride price, ceremonial
privilege, and often personal support—was acquired by the payment of
horses. In most instances, the loss of capital was only temporary: medicine 454
bundles, pipes, and society memberships were actually investments[40] that 431
could be resold, sometimes even at a profit, and distributions to maintain
prestige were, in effect, convenient forms of credit. Expectancy is succinctly [452]
expressed in the oft-heard comment, "If a Blood gives a horse away one day,

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[30] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[31] *Idem.*

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[35] This is the term Wissler uses (See Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, Table of Contents, p. 363.)

[36] Maximilian, Prince of Weid-Neuweid, *Travels in the Interior of North America in the years of 1832-1833 and 1834*, p. 255.

[37] *Idem.*

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

[39] Cocking, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Cf. also p. 111, for a statement on their more favorable situation.

[40] Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 277. Cf. also Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 44 ff.

children of the poor. At birth, the son of a rich man was placed upon an 184
otter or a weasel skin. The poor man's child had to be content with a buck- 556
skin bag. Pointed Plume was initiated to many ceremonial objects for which [844]
large and handsome payments were made. The list is impressive: forelock
of the Long Time Pipe; weasel-tail suit, a partnership in the Horn Society [432]
when he was only fourteen years old, and many ceremonial paintings to [852]
insure long life and prosperity. He was rarely permitted to leave his home
and was never entrusted to any white school. [857]

Ned Sloane, the son of a white father and an Indian mother who died 736
when he was born, could boast of no such honorings. Deserted by his one
remaining parent, the boy spent his childhood in the care of his Indian 184
grandmother, visiting from relative to relative. "All of them treated me
like a son," he said, but none gave him any substantial gift—not even his
famous uncle Long Tail-feathers, owner of many powers, though Ned and
his grandmother shared his home for years. At the tender age of seven, the [874]
youngster was sent to the Dunbow Industrial School, more than a hundred
miles from the reserve. In the eleven years he "studied" there, he had four
visitors.

Each member of a men's society hailed his fellow-member as *taka*, 515
a term of friendship that frequently implied a greater degree of affec- [572]
tion and loyalty than was lavished upon a close relative. Even after the
buffalo had disappeared and the hunt was a thing of the past, these societies [178]
persisted; they still remain a great force for solidarity among the Blood. [182]
But within their membership social differences are clearly recognized. It
was the rich men's sons who became the leaders because they could buy the [556]
more expensive bundles.[20]

Long before they were eligible for membership in such organizations, 857
young children were well aware of age differences. Very consciously, they [561]
sought their playmates within a limited group. But even within this group,
the children of the rich formed an inner clique which set them off as a [556]
snobbish elite and at the same time protected them from the envious as- [184]
saults of their less fortunate comrades; not unexpectedly they chose their
taka or special friend from their own social stratum. Pointed Plume says, [572]

> I had a number of boy playmates. They were *minipoka* like me. Buffalo Horn was my special comrade, but Wolf Tail and Painted Arrow were also close friends.
>
> Buffalo Horn, like me, was a *minipoka* and the only boy in the family. It was much easier to play with another *minipoka*, for when we were teased by the gang, I and Buffalo Horn could stick together. Also my family felt that Buffalo Horn was a fit companion for me. He came of a wealthy family and was a favorite son.

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[20] Maximilian, *Travels in the Interior of North America*, p. 256, for the buffalo period.

556 this was as nothing compared with a Pointed Plume's equipment. "When I
184 was married in 1905," said he, "my father turned over his whole herd of
425 horses (about 100) to me. A few others had been given to me previously as
gifts. My father told me that if I took care of the cattle I would get my
share, and in 1916, he gave me twenty-five head . . . the next year my
father gave me another twenty-five." It is not surprising that this favorite
son was reluctant to leave his rich father and a secure and indulgent home
for a few dollars in wages.

556 All in all, it was still the owners of the large herds who benefited most
184 from the growing cash income. They plowed back a considerable portion
[454] of it into better homes, better barns, better furnishings and better
fences, as the Government urged them to do. Yet a goodly amount of cash
was still available to them. This the inspector reported was "squandered in
[432] riotous living." Schooled in the old Blackfoot tradition of "generosity,"
[181] these Indians felt that added prestige could only accrue from conspicuous
spending. The same group that had made fine payments for pipes, bundles,
and memberships with their surplus horses, were now able to stage bigger
and better feasts and give away valuable goods, such as cloth, blankets,
shawls, in quantities unknown for many years.

431 Gifts flowed freely, but the circle within which they flowed remained, as
556 before, narrow and selected. The rich gave to the rich, to their close relatives,
184 or to those to whom they were under obligation for some past favor.
[585] For example: Yellow Wolf chose his son's best friend, the *minipoka*, Buffalo
Horn, to be the husband of his brother's daughter. Pointed Plume said,
"At the time of the marriage, I gave Buffalo Horn his weasel tail suit and a
bonnet for a present." And then he added, "Later Buffalo Horn gave me a
similar outfit." To the goodly gift of ten horses contributed to the bride
price by his brother, Yellow Wolf added another five. All went to the rich
father of Buffalo Horn. When Pointed Plume married the favorite daughter
of White Buffalo Robe, Chief of the Lone-Fighter's Band, Yellow Wolf
[764] gave the already wealthy leader twenty-five horses. At a funeral feast
given for Round Chief by his adopted son, Big Head and his nephew,
Pointed Plume, the latter gave away two horses—one to Black Bear, his
maternal uncle whom his father Yellow Wolf had superseded for the chieftaincy,
the other to Split Arrow, the father of Dancing Bird who was his
● [575] wife at this time. He said, "When Round Chief joined the Horn Society,
he took me in as his partner. I was about fourteen at the time. This shows
how close we were." It also shows why he participated so actively in the
death feast.

431 Ned Sloane paid three horses as a bride price to his father-in-law, Charging
556 Buffalo, who distributed them as follows: one horse was given to
585 Charging Buffalo's brother-in-law who had previously made a gift of a
425

horse to the bride; one horse was given to Wooden Ears who had been 431
Charging Buffalo's partner in the Horn Society, and who, if one can trust 556
custom, had made an appropriate gift because of that relationship; and the 585
finest saddle horse was handed over to John Bruce in exchange for a nice 425
large house that Charging Buffalo wished to occupy.

The more general society give-aways made demands particularly on the 556
rich, but these demands were rarely resented. Irregular, and usually not 431
onerous, they enhanced the prestige of the giver. In no way did they raise
the status of those who received. Requests for special objects could, it is 154
true, only be denied with loss of face, but no Blood would hesitate to cir- [558]
cumvent expectation by resorting to the simple device of "shaming,"
well known long before the reserve period.[122] One example will suffice. In [156]
1905 Mountain Pine led a fine buckskin horse to the corral. Crow Chief [572]
admired the animal saying, "I wish I owned that horse." Mountain Pine
answered, "You can have it if you face to the east and cry 'Mama, I wish
I owned such a horse.'" He then handed over the horse while the by-
standers laughed heartily. It is not surprising that under these circum-
stances, Crow-Chief refused to accept it.[123]

Relationships within the age-grade societies were still a matter of group 575
concern, and great efforts were made by the wealthier members to be 556
"brotherly" and back up the poor. The methods employed were frequently 577
devious. When Ghost Moon brazenly demanded a new saddle from Moose [431]
Dung, a poor member of Middle Bear's society, the latter felt impelled to
satisfy the request to save his *taka's* face, without, however, benefiting
him more directly.[124]

In these years of economic expansion, old ways of spending were exag- 556
gerated. Favorites were showered with expensive gifts and raiment. A saddle 184
costing $80-$100, silver spurs, special boots, finely beaded blankets, all
might be lavished on a small and favored son. He was initiated to many [435]
ceremonial objects for which large payments were made not only in horses, [852]
but in fine goods. As the herds grew these payments became more ostenta-
tious. The Long Time Pipe alone sold several times for 100 horses.

Nor was it enough for a prosperous Blood to have one favorite. Many had two or more. Pointed Plume said he wanted to "treat his two boys alike." Others frankly stated they wanted to show how rich they were. To all it gave great satisfaction to add to prestige by conspicuous spending.

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[122] There are many ways in which shaming could be used to emphasize wealth differences. For instance, at a formal smoke where bundles were named and prices given, "Those having a long list were cheered, while those having a short one were ridiculed." (Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 276).

[123] Biele, Field Notes.

[124] *Ibid.*

[1920-1940]

433 change in the fabric of their tribal life. The excessive cold practically
731 annihilated the cattle herds.[140] At one stroke, the accumulated capital of
231 the herders was wiped out. For the farmers the blow was temporary; they
still had their land, and after the difficult years a good income, although a
434 smaller one, could again be derived from wheat. But a herd could not be
replaced in a day, or in a year. Most of the old breeders gave up in despair.
The wheat farmers bought up the cattle that survived.

Pointed Plume, scion of one of those chiefly families that had been ambitious enough to farm as well as herd, says,

> 425 Then in 1919 the winter was very severe. The Government feared for the cattle
> 231 and horses on the range, and the cattle were driven into a cow camp to protect them.
> [731] In spite of all our care, most of the cattle starved. I had only two left. But the still
> high price for wheat made it possible for me to buy more. Weasel White Buffalo,
> [435] my wife's father,[141] said to me, "You are very foolish to raise cattle. You may be
> wiped out again." But I went ahead. Other Indians who had only a few remaining
> [874] cows were glad to sell them to me, and when the Dunbow Industrial School was
> discontinued, I bought up their herd for something like $300. I paid in wheat money
> and horses, one horse or $30 for a cow and a calf. Today I and my two sons have
> 160 head of cattle.

231 The loss of cattle in the cold winters of 1919 and 1920 meant the loss of
556 all cash income to the herders; but enough horses remained[142] to carry on
the traditional exchange and purchase. Again on relief the erstwhile herders still achieved prestige in the old way, but with this difference: the horse was no longer the chief symbol of wealth. The agency was quick to recognize this. Horse exchanges and payments are not entered in the official books, but transactions in wheat and cattle are duly recorded. For the first
time in more than a century, the man with horses was not necessarily the
● [575] rich man. Yet he continued to buy eagerly, even compulsively, into socie-
ties although he could not always complete the purchase. He might join
[424] the Horn Society, four times, six times, eight times, but in spite of such constant validation, his position became less secure. He still got "respect" but "respect" worn thin because it was not bolstered by real wealth. Then, as now, real wealth was in the hands of those men who had gone into farming around 1910.

434 Never again did cattle herding approach its former peak or popularity.
657 In 1930, there were only 1300 head of cattle on the reserve, less than one-

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433
[231]

[140] According to the 1922 report, Vol. 8, No. 27, p. 50, only 1376 head remained.

[141] The father of Pointed Plume's third wife.

[142] The number of horses affected by the cold was considerably less than the number of cattle. A clue to this situation is given by Hudson (*op. cit.*, p. 31). He writes: "The horses would first break the crust of snow with their hoofs and eat the top of the grass. After which the other animals could get at the remaining stalks."

[1920-1940]

425 Easy access to good land is no longer possible, and the best of it has been
allotted. A young and ambitious Blood must either turn again to wages, as
indeed the sons of rich farmers have done, or if he is not content with the
marginal land still available, he must wheedle an idle farm from a more
[426] fortunate if less industrious tribesman. He may get it as a loan or on a rental
[427] basis, but he is never certain how long he will be permitted to crop it. The
more successful he is, the more eager the renter will be to reclaim his land
[578] and try his hand at it again. Violent conflict and familial hostility frequently
result.

556 CHANGING PRESTIGE FACTOR.—Distinctions between rich and poor are
184 still drawn, and frequently these obscure expected behavior. The rich
daughter-in-law is served; the poor one does the work. The poor son-in-law
[606] is disparaged. Even the impoverished herder or unsuccessful farmer, in
[581] memory of a better day, will storm when his daughter marries a poor
orphan. A poor sister-in-law said of her rich one, "She always makes me
[607] work for her at her house, but she never does anything when she visits
me." A poor young wife who may make a simple and justified request will
be sarcastically told, "Go home, you *minipoka*." The real "favorite" may
exploit his childhood privilege in the face of little criticism even after he has
reached adulthood.

593 The beautiful and discontented wife of a poor man may brazenly flaunt
837 her affair with her rich lover, but the unhappy wife of a rich man will find
577 some more dignified way of showing her dissatisfaction. When her husband
556 philanders, she may refuse to cook his food; she may roll up in her own
184 blanket and deny him his conjugal rights; she may leave him, or she may
entertain his mistress, ply her with fine gifts, and receive the approbation
of society "because she shows no jealousy."

● [575] A chief or member of the Horn Society is also roundly applauded when
he shows no jealousy; but the poor husband who sits by and silently wit-
nesses the drunken love-making of his wife and her rich lover receives no
[593] respect for his restraint. A spoiled and wealthy woman may forbid her
[584] "favorite" the house; she may take his horses and disinherit him if she
disapproves of his marriage. A woman less economically secure, even if she
is known as "manly-hearted," may uphold the authority of her "favorite"
at all cost, as the one sure means of maintaining family prestige.

557 The advantages of a good marriage are quickly recognized. A wealthy
Pointed Plume will say, "All women chase a rich man." A poor William
Curtis will say, "A man should marry his daughter to someone who can
take care of her."

178 But the changing status of various groups within Blood society is strik-
581 ingly revealed by an analysis of marriage trends. Thirty years ago mar-
riages still followed the earlier pattern. The wealthy cattle men continued

to select mates from their own circles. The poor married each other; half- 581
breeds married half-breeds[150] or orphaned members of the tribe. Sometimes, 178
it is true, an ambitious but poor young man succeeded in marrying a wealthy [557]
but considerably older woman; sometimes a father of a poor but beautiful
daughter succeeded in marrying her off to a wealthy husband; sometimes a
rich herder preferred a poor son-in-law whose labor he could exploit. But
the lines remained clearly drawn. Rarely were the "newly rich" able to
crash the "old society."

Today another trend is visible. Numerous marriages have taken place 556
between the children of the "newly rich" and the children of those cattle- 581
breeding families who went into farming around 1910. These are the fami- 178
lies that have cash incomes, good houses, good clothes, good automobiles.
It is now the impoverished horse owner who is the undesirable. His children
are marrying the poor and the orphaned.[151]

SUMMARY.—After a decade of prosperity, an accident of climate created 178
a social upheaval among the Blood. The cold winters of 1919 and 1920 prac- 231
tically annihilated the cattle and reduced the erstwhile successful herder to [731]
penury, at least in terms of a money economy. But he still possessed suffi-
cient horse wealth to validate his prestige as he had always done. His [556]
waning security, however, led to a compulsive buying of privilege, more [754]
particularly in the Horn Society, whose members' power to sorcerize may
well have been an added inducement during this time of deprivation.[152] [575] ●

The farmers suffered also, but only temporarily. With their profits from [424]
wheat they bought up the few remaining cattle, and made no effort to com- 511
pete for recognition with their few horses. They continued to improve their 178
land and buildings, to furnish their houses comfortably, to dress their wives
and children in style. The drought and depression of the early thirties, [657]
however, forced many of them on the relief rolls of the agency. Discouraged
they have ceased to cultivate their crops. Today, the better land is being [425]
concentrated in the hands of the few.

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[150] Most of the half-breeds on the Blood Reserve are the children of Indian women [563]
and white traders (see story of Revenge Walker, p. 11).^A They are known by the
name of their father (Creighton, Davis, Gladstone, Beebe, etc.).

[151] No formal statistics on marriages were collected, but the present statement [123]
of trends seems justified by remarks of informants, direct observation, and an ex- [127]
amination of marriages recorded by the agency census.

[152] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Navajo Witchcraft*. Discussing a rise in the last two years [171]
"in the number of persons whom gossip accuses as witches," he writes: "While
this increase . . . may also be connected with the relative economic prosperity
of this interval, I am inclined to regard both the witchcraft and the ceremonial
phenomena as alternative responses directed toward the preservation of a badly
disturbed equilibrium." Cf. also A. I. Hallowell, *Psychological Characteristics of
the Northeastern Indians*, MSS.

A. [See Categories 578 and 621--Analyst]

Men's Societies

575 In the buffalo period, these age-graded organizations were the chief
182 agents of tribal discipline.[156] They maintained order in the camp and on the
[625] march; they policed the communal hunts; they destroyed the tipi of anyone
who pursued the game before the word was given; they publicly ravaged
[561] and, at times, killed the unfaithful wife or promiscuous sister of a fellow-
[689] member if he so requested. And probably as a corollary to these significant
[684] functions, the men's organizations, within their respective age-grades,
developed a solidarity that was in striking contrast to the general brittleness
[571] of Blood relationships.

572 One tie in Blood society is sacred—the tie between a man and his *taka*,
608 his special friend. The choice of a boon companion is made in childhood; it
is upheld throughout life. It is determined by age, by propinquity, and social
[178] position. In the past, *taka* shared the trials of hunt and war and a woman's
[836] favors before marriage. Today of necessity the last alone remains a test of
friendship, but *taka* still use each other's kinship terms: the mother of one
[601] becomes the mother of the other, the sister of one, the sister of the other,
and they assume the responsibilities implied in these and similar relationships.

575 Within the men's societies, alternate grades know each other as "fighters,"
572 but those who are members at the same time call each other *taka*.
561 The term bespeaks the mutual loyalty expected of them. As a group they
buy into a society; as a group they sell out. Wissler writes, "this companionship
feature seems one of the fundamental conceptions in the Blackfoot
scheme."[157]

575 But while the members or *taka* preserve a solid front within their age-grade,
182 the societies themselves retain little of their former importance.
178 There are no more communal hunts; there are no more protected marches.
[561] Only at the Sun Dance, when the bands gather to raise the sun pole and
[796] make their transfers do the societies operate as of old. For the rest, they
function as social and ceremonial entities, interested primarily in feasting
and exchange.

575 In 1939, a sampling of 305 adult males (practically the entire adult male
[162] population) showed that, at some time, 205 had been members of the
Pigeons, 189 of the Brave Dogs, 68 of the Braves, 23 of the Black Seizers,
25 of the Crow Carriers, 4 of the Crazy Dogs, 130 of the Horns, 1 of the

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[156] For a full discussion of these societies, see Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, pp. 365–460; for age grades and police power, pp. 365–70; for general pattern, p. 424 ff.

[157] *Ibid.*, p. 428.

Seizers.[158] Excepting for the Horns, who present a special problem, membership falls off noticeably in the upper grades. This may well have been the tendency in the pre-reserve period, for increasing age, limited bundles,[159] and selective memberships[160] were all considerations then. They figure equally prominently in the reserve period; but with the introduction of a money economy divorced from a horse economy, a large sector of the population voluntarily cut itself off from ceremonial purchase. Successful farmers, who had only enough horses for their agricultural needs, were unwilling to jeopardize their profits by paying out valuable animals for old-time "respect." From 1910–1920, the wealthy horse and cattle owners (who at that time also had sufficient cash) were little concerned with this heretical attitude; but their almost unrelieved poverty since 1920 (except for horses) has made them more sensitive to the continued refusal of this group to participate in the traditional way. In 1939, though waning membership was not an issue, the Horn Society exerted tremendous pressure on the richest farmer to join its ranks. His two fine teams and well-rigged buggy, his bolts of cloth and many blankets made an impressive display at the public transfer. But he himself showed little appreciation of the honor accorded him. "Blackmail," he called it, and his complaints both before and after initiation were many and loud.

575 [178] [424] 575 184 626 [556]

The Pigeons, the youngest of the graded societies,[161] are having difficulties too, but these are difficulties of membership. Ideally, each group is supposed to sell out after four years, but the present owners have had to hold their bundles for more than seven. The younger men are reluctant to make even the nominal payment of "$5.00 and a couple of blankets," for the questionable advantage of traditional privilege.

575 424 [556]

A combination of factors has contributed to the exceptional popularity of the Horns: (1) they merged with the Bulls, thus increasing the number of memberships available; (2) only in this society do the wives join with

575 554 [754] [837] [577]

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[158] These data and those which follow on the Women's Society, Sun Lodge builders, medicine pipes and beaver bundles were collected in the main by Marjorie Lismer and Harry D. Biele. Unfortunately, limited time and the great size of the reserve made extensive checking impossible. They are offered here, not as a completely accurate record, but in the belief that, in a general way, they reflect certain broad social trends.

For comparison, cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, pp. 365–6 and 369. For an early list of Blackfoot societies, see Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 255 ff.

[114] [128]

[159] Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, p. 386.

[160] *Idem.*

[161] Wissler has made a point for society rank based on "assumed seniority in historical origin" (*Blackfoot Societies*, p. 368). Such an assumption would be strengthened by the position of the Pigeons who are not listed by Wissler as late as 1910 for the Blood.

[554]

575 their husbands; (3) each prospective buyer has a partner (formerly these
554 were bachelors, often not more than boys, whose families were willing and
[754] able to "see them through"); (4) members of the Horn are the most feared
[837] group among the Blood (those who buy the "painted root"[162] can sorcerize,
but even the lesser members, it is believed, have power "so great that to
[577] wish anyone ill or dead is all that is needed for realization"[163]); (5) adultery,
a great tension point in the culture, is sanctioned in the Horns (individual sorcery power can only be acquired after the seller has had ceremonial intercourse with the buyer's wife); (6) jealousy is proscribed (self-control for the Blood is difficult at best, but its achievement by members of the Horn brings great social approval); (7) the Horns are now the oldest ranking society. Those who have been through it can go no further, but many can and do rejoin it.

Of the 130 who have been members at some time,

61 have bought in once
33 have bought in twice
22 have bought in three times
11 have bought in four times
1 has bought in six times
2 have bought in eight times.

575 Despite Catholic injunctions against joining the Horns (because of the
424 ceremonially sanctioned adultery), and despite the lack of interest on the
[798] part of those without horses, the demand for Horn bundles seems to be
greater than the supply. While others find no bidders or are falling in value
[837] (the Long Time Pipe which sold for a hundred and for fifty horses at an
[435] earlier time, sold for twenty in 1939), the leader's lance of the Horn Society
that same year brought fourteen horses and much goods, the approximate cost.[164] Wissler quoting a Piegan's statement made shortly after 1910 writes:

> 575 Bad-old-man bought into the mosquitoes while he was quite young but after his
> 424 marriage. This was before the pigeons were started. For this membership he paid
> a gun and clothing. At the end of four years he sold out and joined the braves at a
> 432 cost of some blankets and clothing. After three years he sold his membership in the braves and bought into the all-brave-dogs. Now, it happened that he purchased this membership from his own son-in-law and he gave as the purchase price his youngest daughter. After three years he sold his membership in the all-brave-dogs and purchased a place in the front-tails, paying a horse. After four years he sold out and purchased into the raven-bearers for which he paid a horse. The next summer he

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[824] [162] *Ibid.*, p. 413. Wissler calls this prairie-turnip.

[163] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

[164] Harry D. Biele notes that twenty-two horses were promised but that considerably fewer were delivered.

joined the horns as he was then living with the Blood. For this he paid a horse, a 575
gun, a saddle, and many blankets.[165] 424

Ordinary memberships in the Horn today bring no less. Many bring con- [432]
siderably more. The society's transfer ceremony was the most spectacular [796]
event at the Sun Dance.

Dance Societies[166]

A number of these associations still flourish on the reserve. Their mem- 575
bership problems are not formidable since their purpose is social and their 535
fees nominal, mostly contributions of food at the time of the dance.

The Women's Society[167]

The *Matoki*, as the Women's Society is called, raised their lodge at the 575
Sun Dance and, assisted by six men—four singers and two messengers—cli- [796]
maxed a four-day ceremony by imitating buffalo driven into the park. In
1939, fifteen women participated, all of them well beyond their prime. The [424]
leader's pole which, according to Mr. Duvall, cost "twelve horses and an
appropriate amount of other property" has not changed hands for forty [435]
years, although "like the horns and other societies the members sell, or [425]
transfer, to others usually . . . at the same time."[168]

The Sun Lodge

With the exception of three years, the Sun Lodge has been raised annually 796
since 1910, sixteen women vowing it, sometimes two of them jointly:[169]

1 woman vowed the Sun Lodge but did not put it up
10 women put up the Sun Lodge once (one year two jointly)
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge twice
2 women put up the Sun Lodge three times (one, once with a woman who raised it five times)
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge four times
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge five times (four times since 1929 alone and once with one of the women who raised it three times)

The demand for chastity before marriage and fidelity after may have 836
eliminated a goodly number, but one informant felt sure that that was not 554
796

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[165] Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, p. 426 ff. 837
[166] *Ibid.*, p. 451 ff.
[167] *Ibid.*, p. 430 ff. [144]
[168] *Ibid.*, pp. 433, 432.
[169] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes. For a full discussion of the Sun Dance and the building of the Sun Lodge, see Wissler, *The Sun Dance of the Blackfoot Indians*, pp. 220-270.

836 the only reason for the limited participation: "There are a lot of women on
554 this reserve who could put up a Sun Lodge, but don't want to." While their
796 virtue might be unassailable, she was convinced that they either could not
837 muster enough wealth, or did not care to meet the considerable demands
[778] for buying the *natoas* bundle,[170] putting up the lodge and staging a give-
[184] away.

782 The rewards of chastity unsupported by property are limited indeed. In
431 1939, the Sun Lodge vower only gave two horses away. The transferrer
796 asked by an interested bystander how he "had come out," laughed and
425 answered, "I never did as badly as this time." The crowd, well-aware that
there was to be no give-away, showed little interest in the proceedings.
[832] When the great moment arrived, the sun pole could barely be raised; most
[535] of the men preferred to dance the Owl Dance, that aid to flirtation and liai-
[575] son. But the conspicuous display at the transfer of Horn Society member-
ships two days earlier had drawn a large and expectant company.

Bundles[171]

575 The costs, limited memberships available, and unappealing demands of
424 such a society as the Crazy Dogs were clearly deterrents to participation,
184 but nevertheless an impressive proportion of the adult male population
bought into the cheaper (y[illegible]r) organizations, and for special reasons
422 into the Horns. The ownership of medicine pipes and beaver bundles is
778 much more restricted. Only thirty, or less than one-tenth of the group
184 sampled, bought pipes at all:

25 bought 1 pipe
1 bought 2 pipes
2 bought 3 pipes
2 bought 4 pipes

Only six have bought beaver bundles:[172]

3 bought 1 bundle
3 bought 2 bundles

Of the first group, one had also purchased a medicine pipe; of the second, one had purchased four.

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[170] It is possible to vow the Sun Lodge without buying the *natoas* bundle. Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Sun Dance*, pp. 241, 246.

[171] Many other types than those discussed here were in circulation. For full descriptions, see Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, passim.

[172] Wissler (*Blackfoot Bundles*, p. 169), writes in 1912: "At present beaver bundles are to be found among the divisions except the Blood, among whom they have not been particularly popular for a long time."

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

PLATE IV

575

CROWDS GATHERING
FOR THE TRANSFER CEREMONY OF THE HORN SOCIETY

NEW MEMBERS OF THE HORN SOCIETY PARADE THEIR INSIGNIA

[p.44-D]

The turnover in these important pipes and bundles is not great and prices 778
fluctuate considerably.[173] The man who has paid a large number of horses 432
is frequently loathe to relinquish his bundle for fewer animals. It was many
years before the last buyer to pay a hundred horses for the Long Time Pipe 435
was ready to let it go for fifty. The woman who bought the *natoas* bundle
in 1929 put up ten horses, one heifer, a set of harness and a saddle. In 1939,
she still owned the bundle.[174]

The initial expense, however, is but a small part of the total cost. Further ritual knowledge enhances the value of the bundle, but while this may bring a good return in the future, it must be paid for in the present. Moreover, the owners of certain bundles are expected to open them and feast all previous owners sometimes as often as once a month. For some these additional obligations are too onerous. All four owners of beaver bundles participate in the general ceremony, but only one possesses the knowledge necessary to conduct it. His bundle is considered the most powerful.[175]

All bundle owners are members of societies, but five, each of whom had 575
purchased only one bundle, did not join the Horns. Pressure from the 778
Church, the loss of horses, or the complete acceptance of white goals may [177]
account for this unusual behavior. Whatever the reasons for these particular
lapses, it is also an interesting fact and an index of changing values that the [798]
sons of bundle owners and society members have not always followed in [178]
their fathers' footsteps. They have not always joined societies or purchased
ceremonial objects.

Those who buy ceremonial privilege consider the gain against the cost. 787
When Harvey Fleet Foot, a young and ambitious farmer, was at "death's 778
door" shortly after the serious illness of his small son, he dreamed that he
should vow a pipe. Only then would he and his family be protected from 432
further harm. Since no special pipe was mentioned in the dream, he sought 782
advice from an old medicine man and Horn priest, his father's brother, and [751]
from his father-in-law, a substantial cattle and horse owner and farmer. [756]
The two old men agreed to back Harvey, "if he followed the voices of the
spirit." They decided that he should vow the Long Time Pipe. Said the
medicine man, "As long as you can pay for it, you might as well vow the
strongest pipe." And Harvey Fleet Foot, aided by his rich father-in-law, [435]
bought the Long Time Pipe for twenty horses and other goods.

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[173] Bradley (*Characteristics*, p. 265), writing before 1877, comments, "In value they were computed at about nine horses." Lewis (*Effects of White Contact*, p. 44 ff.), basing his conclusions on Major Culbertson believes that before 1850 "the number of bundle transfers was less frequent and the property exchanged much smaller." Wissler (*Blackfoot Bundles*, p. 277) writes: ". . .whereas. . .medicine pipes formerly required but two or three horses, they now often go to thirty head." [175]

[174] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes.

[175] *Ibid.*

175 another."[187] More leniency was shown to the partner in sin. Maximilian
684 continues, "Often he avenges himself on the paramour, takes away his
horse or other valuable property, to which he must submit quietly."[188]
684 Today infidelity, or suspicion of it, are also severely punished. Beatings are
frequent; one old lady still carefully conceals her mutilated face behind her
shawl; and Big Head, recently released from prison, killed his wife because
rumors of her misconduct had reached him during his confinement.[189]

593 Absence from home is perhaps the greatest threat to a man's marital peace.
937 His present fears echo attitudes of the past, grounded in an economy that
made more or less long separations between husband and wife inevitable.
The small raiding or hunting parties, which might include the husband, left
plenty of men available for romance. Today, although life is more sedentary,
dwellings are isolated. A few hours in the field, a trip to town, are enough to
kindle the flame. But it is the jail sentence, that frequent experience, which
most nearly approximates the extended absences of a former time. Legal
protection from a surprise return adds to the safety of wifely adventure; it
also intensifies the fears of the ever-suspicious husband.

593 Some few women are notoriously jealous of their husbands, but primarily
152 it is the men who exhibit the greatest sexual insecurity. A man who shows
578 no jealousy is considered brave; yet a young mother eager to see her son of
six become a good fighter will proudly encourage him when he shakes his
[577] fist in fury at an old medicine man whom he considers his "rival." From
[865] earliest babyhood, a child is exposed to the violent quarrels of his parents.
He hears his mother's virtue assailed; he sees his father beat her for misbehavior. Against such a background and such conditioning, traditionally
[181] desirable attitudes are achieved with difficulty. In this society, jealousy
has become obsessional; even chiefs find it difficult to act within the prescribed pattern, and serious lapses are not unknown.

593 Few men trust their wives. A seemingly contented husband of twenty
578 years will, at the first sign of anger, hurl accusations of infidelity at his
152 mate. One husband refuses to permit his wife to remove her shawl in her own
831 house for fear she will succumb to the casual advances of some passerby.
Another will suspect his wife of indiscretions while he is busy not one hundred
yards away; still another will insist that his wife ride a horse at his side
[575] (an unwomanly occupation) so he can keep her within sight. Some will
refuse to enter the Horn Society, because they feel unable to suppress their
jealousy, as they are expected to do during their term of membership. A
man will quickly, and often with little reason, accuse a brother of being his
[572] wife's lover. "You may joke," they say, "with your *taka*'s wife, but if you

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[187] Maximilian, *Travels*, p. 253.

[188] *Idem.*

[189] Letter to Harry D. Biele in September, 1939.

joke with your brother's, it means you are in earnest." The only Blood 593
confined to the insane asylum, whose case was not complicated by physical 578
causes, attempted to murder his wife because he believed she was having 152
intercourse with a ghost. Many a husband, approaching his end, threatens 831
his mate with death, for only when she accompanies him on his final journey [572]
can he be sure that in the next world he alone will possess her.

Husbands, who need proof of good behavior and who can afford to pay [158]
for it, may insist that their wives "vow the tongues"[190] or put up the Sun [775]
Lodge, for only those who are chaste before and faithful after marriage can 593
do so with impunity. Sometimes, however, the pressure may be so great, 796
that a woman must take a chance. Urged by her husband who remained unconvinced 783
concerning her virginity at marriage, Weasel Girl distributed the 626
tongues at the Sun Dance. Her husband's uncle, noting that she failed to 784
mention the names of any men she had rebuffed, suspected her avowal, and [837]
threw his piece of meat to a dog at his side. Later that evening, this dog
was shot while making off with a chicken. His alertness and caution had [836]
saved him, the uncle was certain, from a sure and untimely death. That
Weasel Girl, herself, only lived three years longer was further evidence that
she had lied.

Suspicion is not always without cause, as it may well have been in this 837
instance. The most casual encounter, the social dances in the dance hall,
even the Sun Dance, offer innumerable opportunities for illicit adventures,
and these are not missed. Many a husband has found his wife with her lover.
But so obsessed are they by their suspicions, that every possibility of [152]
adultery immediately becomes a fact.

Informal wife-lending among the Blood is inconceivable whether to a 432
casual friend[191] or a life-long "*taka*." Yet this act which cannot be tolerated 778
in daily living, is ritually sanctioned when the sorcery roots are purchased 786
by members in the Horn Society.[192] At this time, the wife of the buyer
deposits her clothes in her husband's lap. Protected by a buffalo robe, she 575
is taken to the tipi of the seller and ceremonially painted. She then "goes 754
837

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[190] Wissler, *Blackfoot Sun Dance*, p. 234 ff.

[191] Henry in his Journal (vol. 2, p. 526) states that the Blackfoot were a "nuisance in offering women." Wissler (*Social Life*, p. 10) observes that he believes these women were captives.

[192] Among the neighboring Cree the opposite situation existed. They practised 171
informal wife exchange. D. G. Mandelbaum (*The Plains Cree*, p. 246) writes: "This 837
relationship reflected considerable honor upon the participants, for only the most stout-hearted men could become intimate companions of their wives' paramours." But in a ceremony called Sitting Up Until Morning (*ibid.*, p. 228) although the "warriors of one society issued invitations to the wives or daughters of the members of other societies" and "at dawn, the men washed and painted the women's faces,

432 on the sacred walk."[193] Returning, she gives the sinister root which she has
778 received from her nocturnal partner to her uneasy husband.

786 The interval of waiting is among the greatest trials of the Blood. The
anxious husband must show no jealousy during the "walk"; he must joke
● 575 with his fellow members and suffer their teasing without taking offense. So
754 great is this strain that some are unable to bring themselves to the test;
837 others hire a substitute wife, although the added cost may be considerable.

754 The Blood are not overly engrossed with sorcery, perhaps because black
181 magic may act as a boomerang, perhaps because hostility is quickly and
154 overtly expressed, perhaps because their way of life brought numerous and
[837] tangible rewards. But some standard of values is suggested by the fact that
the greatest power to hurt others is acquired by submitting to what they
believe entails the greatest personal suffering—the possession of one's wife
by another. Its institutionalization in the Horn Society in no way relaxes
the sexual tensions among the people at large; it merely succeeds in heightening
them for the few who want to purchase the most feared power available
to the Blood.

831 Writing on the relations between Blackfoot men and women, Wissler
171 observes, "We found no traces of the conventional modes of registering
554 conquests as among the young men of the Dakota and Village Indians."[194]
154 Victims of a monotonous poverty, these more easterly tribesmen readily
transferred a symbol from their glamorous past to the one remaining area
of competition, sex. The counting of coups over amorous successes may
well have seemed unnecessary, and even ridiculous, to the more exuberant
Blood whose daily routines gave them many other ego satisfactions.

593 **Marital Instability.**—Psychopathic possessiveness and aggressive
837 behavior, however, offer a poor foundation for a satisfactory or enduring
581 marriage. In 1909, a worried agent, after discussing the difficulties arising
from drink, observed, "The morality question is at present a more serious
one on this reservation, the transgressors very principally young married
people who, after quarrelling separate and insist upon availing themselves
of the old tribal right to take other partners."[195] The instability of early
marriage can be easily documented. A Dancing Bird, beautiful if undiscriminating,
consoled ten "husbands"; a wilful Mary Red Bear boasted

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[171] combed their hair, and gave them a gift. . .no sexual license is permitted during
this occasion."

[837] The attitudes and values of the two tribes are nicely revealed in the following
incident from a tale: A Blackfoot visiting a Cree makes him a present of a horse.
In return, the Cree offers him his wife.

[193] Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, p. 413 ff. Also Harry D. Biele, Field Notes.

[194] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 9.

[195] 1909, Vol. 43, [illegible] 15, p. 169.

sister and never did what he wanted. Many a son leaves his father's house 593
to live with a married sister because he "can't get along with his brothers." 578

The age-grade is an important mechanism for solidarity, but alternate [591]
grades of the men's societies call each other "fighters." Their actions fulfill
expectancy. One man, accused of beating his wife excessively, said in extenuation 561
that he couldn't stand the taunts of his "fighters" who continually 575
reminded him of her pre-marital promiscuity. The conflicts and insult 578
techniques that rule between "fighters" are projected upon the family. Quarrels
between young children are explained on this basis. A young boy of [182]
nine was tussling more or less playfully with his sister's son aged six. The [593]
father of the elder boy, who at the same time was the grandfather of the
younger, said, "They just can't get along together. They are fighters."
Brothers, merely because of age difference, frequently find themselves in
opposite camps.

This institutionalization of hostility, however, only reinforces behavior 155
patterns implicit in the basic structure of the society.[200] Rivalrous attitudes, 154
rooted in the conflicting interests and individualistic goals that
dominate the society as a whole, are freely expressed in childhood. They are [865]
strengthened by early training. They are nourished in adulthood by differences
over property, whether in women, animals, or land. Some brothers [593]
have not spoken to each other for more than a decade. Mutual assaults [578]
are frequent and fraternal murder is not unknown. Familial attachment
created no problem in loyalties for Yellow Wolf when he assisted in the
police hunt for his notorious brother, Charcoal.

But when economic advantage demands cooperation, hostility may be 593
repressed, if only temporarily. This same Charcoal, after a serious break 476
with Yellow Wolf, joined his haying camp and accepted his leadership [154]
again. The White Plume brothers who beat each other up in the early part
of the week camped together a few days later and brought in the wheat.

Childhood rivalries between sisters are more apt to be dissipated in later 593
life. In the buffalo period, many an early antagonism was forgotten because 578
the advantage of being a second wife in a sister's household overcame the [178]
disadvantage of continued proximity. In the monogamous present, distance
mitigates if it does not completely resolve the friction: after marriage, a [591]
woman still generally goes to her husband's house.

Other aspects of housing also affect family relationships. In the past, no 578
591

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[200] From an anthropological viewpoint, see Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, p. 236; also Ralph Linton, *The Effects of Culture on Mental and Emotional Processes*, pp. 294, 295; also Bronislaw Malinowski, *Culture as a Determinant of Behavior*, particularly pp. 133–139. From a psychoanalytical viewpoint, see Erich Fromm, *Escape From Freedom*, pp. 277–291; also Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of our Time*, p. 188 ff.; also Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and his Society*, p. 55.

war deeds and political authority being equal, would ordinarily not join 561
a war expedition led by one who was his junior. Among war chiefs who had [701]
already made their major coups, seniority was as important a factor in [554]
prestige as the number of major coups.

Unlike the Pawnee and the Comanche one's prestige did not decline after [555]
the last war deed. War was understood as a means for acquiring wealth,
and if one were already wealthy, status could be maintained in certain 556
spheres without war deeds. Once one had built an adequate herd of horses, 721
there was no humiliation for those who preferred to remain in camp. Moreover, 554
after renouncing warfare, one might gain further prestige. Ceremonial [778]
life was another form of competition with property as one of the stakes; a [425]
man surpassed another by paying more for an article of ceremonial importance
or by acquiring more sacred articles. The tribal chiefs themselves [621]
were usually older men who had already distinguished themselves as warriors. [622]
Having given up the war path, they settled with their large herds of
horses to help their relatives and thus established their positions as leaders
in civil life. In this status of leader a man with less wealth and fewer coups
might surpass a man with a finer war record who had greater wealth but less
generosity. Above all, the mere fact of having grown old was regarded with 888
respect, for one must have power in order to grow old. Hence, it was any 561
dignified old man who with his liaisons to supernatural powers said prayers [782]
for the departing warriors. In fact, they prayed that the young man who
offered them a pipe would have a long life and many children. [887]

The general structure of the age societies exemplifies this pattern still 575
further. The societies such as the Bees and the Prairie Chickens were 561
entered by many young men, required little outlay of wealth for membership
and served mainly for display, recreation, and solidifying the bonds [556]
between comrades. Those high in the hierarchy of age societies such as the
members of the Catchers and the Horn societies were necessarily older men
of sufficient wealth to pay a relatively high price for admission. Hence the
group of members was not large. In addition these societies were entrusted [692]
with legal authority, based in part on the supernatural power which membership
gave them. We thus see again the tendency to associate with age
both authority and supernatural power. Though the Crazy Dogs, lying [761]
about midway in the hierarchy of age societies, might sing the old Plains
song, "We do not want to become old," this was sung perhaps more in [533]
derision of their "enemy society" than as an expression of the desire to die
young.

Within the residence group any remarks on authority must be prefaced 592
by the observation that the smaller units were in the final analysis autonomous. 596
Each household unit was free to move any place it desired at the
will of the man who was head. Among the households that coalesced into

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long 000
as the younger."

This system of rank and seniority had its repercussions on personal secur-
ity. Even though blood bonds were considered extremely stable, cases occur 561
where there was open conflict between brothers. Moreover, a younger 593
brother was a potential threat to an older brother whom he might surpass. 578
Many Swans' war record excelled that of his older brother, and people [558]
taunted the brother mildly on this score. Indeed, there was personal humili-
ation, for the great family name of Many Swans, borne by the older brother, [553]
was taken away by the father and given to the younger brother. The older [622]
brother also relinquished the chieftainship of the band in favor of the
younger. Thus age was no guarantee against being excelled by a younger [558]
man even within one's own family. Loss of one's wives was another threat.
In fact, judging by the severe and brutal treatment accorded an unfaithful [684]
wife at the hands of her husband, unfaithfulness seems to have been an
almost intolerable personal affront. Yet we have instances where the co-
respondent was a younger brother. The fact that the levirate did occur in [587]
some cases legalized this relationship but only after the death of the older
brother. As if to prevent even this possibility, a male addressed his older
brother's wife as "mother," and she replied "son."

Thus if fraternal conflict were possible, the only security in a system of 561
rank is in the group of those with identical rank. Indeed, we have observed
that a male cousin, step-brother or twin of the same age was not 602
called "brother" but "comrade." This is the only reciprocal term in North- 571
ern Blackfoot kinship terminology with the exception of the remote parents
of one's siblings' spouses and the parents of ones' children's spouses (*nitax'-* [601]
soku'). The relationship of one comrade to another might be extremely close,
implying a sharing of wealth, of sexual gratification and of recreation.
Though comrades exchanged gifts, there was no sign of competition between
them in out-doing the other in generosity. With comrades one's wife was
safe, for with their wives one might have easy, ribald relations, though no
sexual intercourse. The children of comrades were called "my children," [597]
and adoption of one or more of them at the death of a comrade was not
uncommon. The age societies supported this solidarity further, for through
the hierarchy of these societies one passed with the same group. Indeed, it [575]
was not uncommon for comrades to join together to help a poor comrade by
paying for his membership. Then as a member of an age group one could [578]
vent his feelings against those of the next older age grade by jeering at their
accomplishments, possibly sublimating some of the repressed rancor occa- [182]
sioned by their imperious authority.

Here we see that the relation of male to male was one of rank based on sen- [152]
[154]

667 to learn to cook, tan hides, and make moccasins. There was no hazing of the
585 new wife; rather, if very young, she was treated like a child in the attempt
to make her feel at home in this new situation.

593 In addition social dicta prescribed that women be participators in the
562 cultural rewards apart from the warpath. This was mainly the case with
ceremonial life. It was always necessary for a man to have a woman partner
[778] when he obtained the medicine pipe or entered the sacred societies. In these
[575] activities it was usually a wife, though a man might seek another woman to
796 take her place. These women were not ceremonially so important as a male.
593 However, one case shows where a man refused to join the Crazy Dog society,
562 and to overcome his resistance, his comrades took his wife as a member. As
under this circumstance he could not refuse his wife and maintain com-
[575] munity respect, he paid for her membership and sat beside her in all the
meetings. In the Sun Dance alone a woman overshadowed her husband, but
[577] this status assured her husband of a firm marital tie. As Sun Dance vower,
she personified the cultural ideal of womanhood, the woman who above all
was faithful to her husband.

562 Beyond this elevation of the status of women through the necessity for
842 women partners in receiving sacred objects and in participating in general
social life, there lay a mystical concept. Through women came the greatest
treasures the culture offered. This meant in the family that a man might
[603] have children, for children of both sexes were avidly desired. Older people
[597] raised their grandchildren in order to have children in the tipi. It was also
the practice to adopt a child should one's own child die. This pattern of cul-
562 tural rewards went even farther. In obtaining the most sacred root in the
796 Horn and mo'toki societies, the root which was the zenith of sacred objects
778 brought to the earth by the woman who brought the Sun Dance, a woman
[575] was necessary. In an esoteric ceremonial act a woman obtained for her hus-
band the root from a man who sold it. This was a very secret and unmention-
[432] able event that separated socially the seller from the buyer until the two
[571] "made friends" at some time when neither owned the root any longer. Thus
through marriage the two worlds of the male and the female were united to
581 obtain the rewards of the culture.
582

Balancing of the Lines

601 The question of lineality arises in any discussion of kinship terminology
602 in its relation to the family organization. We believe that there is only slight,
if any, emphasis on the paternal line.

601 Critical in fixing lineality is the relative weight of husband versus wife's
brother. In the foregoing paragraphs a relative balance of the two authori-
607 ties has been indicated. Ideally, it was a friendly, warm, though respectful
relationship, implying a type of cooperation like that between brothers,

641 boundaries, it will be seen, create an added dimension. They overlie the county system but do not obliterate, change, or directly affect 665 it. Democrats, Republicans, Independents and disinterested voters play their respective parts at all levels of politics.

Education

871 The reservation region is served by the Montana State Public Schools system. County school districts, with one or two exceptions, cross reservation lines. The public schools that have Indian pupils receive Federal support under the Federal Impact Area Act (PL874).[38] 872 Elementary schools, varying greatly in size, plant and staff, are found 873 in all settled and rural areas, and high schools are located at Browning, 368 Cut Bank, Valier and Conrad.

Religious and Other Organizations

794 Religious and other organizations here are similar to those found elsewhere in rural regions of the United States and need little discussion. Many denominations of Christian churches have followers 575 here, and each town has one or several churches. Similarly, one or several religious and secular lodges, service clubs, veterans' organizations, youth clubs, ranch, business, trade and labor organizations are found in the communities of the area. The particular organizations active on the reservation will be discussed later.

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[38] U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 1950, LXIV, Part 1, p. 1100.

758 in 1937[149] and during the fiscal year 1940 a staff of twelve served
178 1,181 patients in addition to providing dispensary treatment to
5,204 cases. Five field employees administered to an additional
4,945.[150] C.C.C. nurses and Red Cross workers were also tending to
the health of the Blackfeet.[151] The medicine men were losing their
hold. By 1959 informants reported that all the Indians used the Public
Health Service hospital and medicines. Only a few medicine men were
left and while they did some curing, they too went to the white doctors
on occasion.

651 The Tribal Council attempted to further self-help improvement
[643] projects using the revolving loan funds appropriated by Congress. The
[426] Office of Indian Affairs encouraged other enterprises by providing farm
[242] and home extension workers to advise the farmers and ranchers, and to
[232] organize women's community clubs for instruction in homemaking. The
●[575] extension agents encouraged the growth of 4-H clubs to teach agriculture,
stock raising and homemaking to the boys and girls.[152]

433 By 1941, the eve of World War II, the Blackfeet had made but
[427] slow recovery. The long-range economic problems had not been met. They,

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[149] Reported under construction in *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, *op. cit.*, 1936, p. 175; and *ibid.*, 1937, p. 234, reports all hospitals under construction in 1936 were completed in 1937.

[150] U.S., Office of Indian Affairs, *Statistical Supplement to the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1940*, p. 82.

[151] *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, *op. cit.*, 1937, p. 218.

[152] See reports in *Indians at Work*, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, No. 12, 1936, p. 43; and in the *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, *op. cit.*, 1936, pp. 179-184, and *ibid.*, 1937, pp. 211-217.

TABLE 1

SELECTED DATA FROM THE SOCIOCULTURAL FIELD SCHEDULE

Case No.	Age	Degree Indian			Marital Status	Children	Education	FFA 4-H Equiv.	Military Service	Travel	Type of Work
		Self	Father	Mother							
2	28	9/16	5/8	1/2	S		12	X	X	Occ.	family ranch
3	26	5/8	5/8	5/8	M	4	8				seasonal labor
5	20	7/16	3/8	1/2	S		12	X		Little	regular labor
6	32	1/16	Wh.	1/8	Div.	2	10		X	Occ.	seasonal labor
7	25	1/16	Wh.	1/8	S		14+	X		Occ.	ranch, seas. lab.
9	29	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	4	9	X		Occ.	irreg. wage labor
10	44	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	8	8		X		irreg. wage labor
11	30	5/8	1/2	3/4	M	5	10	X	X		seasonal labor
13	52	1/4	Wh.	1/2	M	5	8		X	Occ.	irreg. wage labor
14	25	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	1	7	X			irreg. wage labor
17	34	1/2-	1/2	7/16	M	9	6	X	X		regular labor
18	43	15/16	4/4	7/8	Div.	1	9	X	X	Some	irreg. wage labor
19	43	1/4	Wh.	1/2	M	2	15	X	X	Cons.	promoter
21	41	1/16	1/8	Wh.	M	7	8	X	X	Occ.	ranching
25	74	3/8	1/4	1/2	M	7	4			Occ.	ranching
26	23	7/8	4/4	3/4	S		10	X		Occ.	irreg. wage labor
27	40	3/4	1/2	4/4	M	4	8				irreg. wage labor
28	22	35/64	5/8	15/32	M	2	10	X		Occ.	irreg. wage labor
29	52	1/2	1/2	1/2	S		6			Occ.	irreg. wage labor
30	44	1/8	Wh.	1/4	M	2	12		X	Cons.	promoter
31	24	5/16	1/8	1/2	M	1	9+	X		Occ.	ranching
32	58	3/4	1/2	4/4	M	7	6				disab. pension
34	24	1/2	1/2	1/2	M	1	12	X		Little	irreg. clerical
35	57	1/4	1/2	Wh.	M	4	4			Cons.	rancher
37	23	13/16	3/4	7/8	S		7			Occ.	irreg. wage labor
38	59	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	7	10			Cons.	trade
39	21	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	2	9	X			irreg. wage labor
42	64	1/2	Wh.	4/4	M	6	8			Occ.	regular labor
45	39	1/4	1/2	Wh.	M	4	6			Occ.	trade, ranching
46	45	1/4	1/4	1/4	S		10		X	Cons.	regular labor
47	62	4/4	4/4	4/4	Sep.	3	8		X	Ext.	irreg. wage labor
							[871]	[575]	[701]	[484]	[464] 184 177 121 106

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Case No.	Indian Dance	Stick Game	Indian Societies	Indian Accent	Level of English	Church Attend.	Reading	West. Dance	Cards	Western Organi-zations	Visibility (A=High)
2	attend				good	reg.	A		occ.	X	C
3					good	rare	B		X		B
5	attend-	X-			good	occ.	C		occ.		C
6	attend-				good	occ.	A	X	occ.	X	D
7	attend-				exc.	occ.	A	X	rare		D
9	attend				fair	occ.	A				B+
10	X	X	X	X	fair	reg.	C	occ.	occ.		A
11	attend	X			good	occ.	C		occ.		B
13	attend-	X			fair	occ.	A	X	X	X	B-
14	X	X	X	X	fair	reg.	C	occ.			A
17					good	rare	B	occ.	occ.		B
18	attend-	X	X		good	occ.	C	?	occ.	X	A
19	X-				exc.	occ.	A	X		X	C+
21					good	occ.	A	X		X	D
25	attend-				good	reg.	A	X	occ.	X	B
26	X	X		X-	good	occ.	?		X-		B+
27	attend	X		X	fair	occ.-	D				A
28	attend-				good	occ.	A	occ.			B
29	attend-	X-			poor	rare	B				A
30					exc.	occ.	B		occ.		C-
31	attend-				good	occ.	A		occ.		C
32	attend	X-		X	fair	occ.-	B	occ.			A
34					good	reg.	A	X	occ.		C
35	X	X-	X		good	occ.	A	X	X	X	D
37	attend-			?	fair	occ.	C		occ.		A
38	attend-				good	reg.	B	X			B+
39	attend			X	fair	occ.-	C				A
42	attend-				good	occ.	B	X	X	X-	C
45	attend-				good	occ.	C		occ.		C-
46	attend-				fair	occ.	B		occ.	X-	C-
47	X	X	X	X	fair	reg.	D		X		A
	[535]	[525]	[575]		[191)	[797)		[535]	[524)	[575]	

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Explanation of the Data Selected

106 Education is given in years of attendance. This is little more
121 than an index of exposure to white education, as individual differences
177 in receptivity, attendance, achievement, motivation, learning, and
184 differences among schools attended, are not revealed by such an index.
[871] Some additional information was obtained from school records and will
[127] be used where applicable.

[575] F.F.A., 4-H, or Equivalent records participation in youth
organizations as an index of exposure to another area of training in
the values and techniques of the dominant culture.

[484] Military Service and Travel are considered to be indicative of
[701] a wider contact and experience with other than reservation people, and
of increased exposure to elements of white culture.

[464] Type of Work reflects, among other things, a state of training and experience posed against the available employment on the reservation, and it is some measure of economic achievement. A man categorized as working at "irreg. wage labor" is one who works sporadically during the periods when work is available. Other men, who are generally steadily employed during the work season are classified "seasonal labor." One man is rated as "reg. farm labor," because he lived with his employer and worked throughout the year at whatever required doing. Other categorizations are relatively clear, with the exception of "promoter," which is used to cover a multiple source of income. The man so labeled may have income from investments, elective office, land promotion projects, oil speculation or several other sources.

[434] Average Income records the subjects' estimate of their annual earning capacity and is but a rough index of subsistence. The figure

106 121 177 non-Indian. Some of the older men who remembered that their mothers used some herbs, but did not know what these were and did not use them themselves are credited with no knowledge.

184 [758] [535] **Indian Dance** is rated with an "X" for active participation in Indian social dancing, either as a dancer or a singer. "Attend." signifies frequent attendance at these affairs as an observer. Men rated "Attend." have taken part in the past, and their attendance now could be called vicarious participation. They know the roles and the rules and are aware of all that is going on. "Attend-" marks the occasional observer who enjoys watching the "Indians" perform their "colorful" dances. The ratings rank individual interest in a social activity that has continuity with Blackfeet culture.

[525] **Stick Game** playing is rated "X" when the man does play regularly, "X-" for occasional, and left blank when he does not play. This complex and time-consuming gambling game is another activity rooted in Indian culture. The gambling motive seems secondary to the social satisfaction derived from participation, a judgement based upon observation of hours of playing, singing, conversation, joking and alternating moments of tension and hilarity that precede the resolution of the game.

● [575] **Indian Societies** records membership in named social organizations that are presently active among the more Indian population on the reservation. The nature and composition of extant Indian societies was not fully explored, but it appears that these are predominantly social clubs, relatively unrelated to the old age-grade societies reported by the earlier ethnologists. They are more akin to Wissler's third

106 classification of Blackfeet societies, formed to compete in dancing,
121 singing and to celebrate war deeds.[167] The present-day associations
177 appear to base their membership more upon a common residential district
184 than upon age. Societies, too, have continuity with past Blackfeet
575 culture.

106 Indian Accent and Level of English are rated in an attempt to
121 further assess the language problem. Generally people who have been
177 raised in homes where the Blackfeet language was used predominantly,
184 have learned English in the schools as a second language. Their
191 vocabularies are apt to be more limited than those of people raised in homes where English was spoken, and they tend to speak English with an accent--they retain a phrasing and intonation from the Blackfeet speech. Similarly, the quality of English spoken by those men from homes where the English language was used most frequently should give some indication of levels of education and experience.

Two men are known, not included in the probability sample, who had been raised in homes where English was spoken predominantly, and who did not speak Blackfeet but had acquired an Indian accent from close association with fluent speakers. Even with such examples to signal for caution against over-generalization, the data in Table 1 show that all men of the sample who speak with this accent are from homes where Blackfeet was spoken. Where there is no accent among persons from such homes, other questions could be raised about the relative frequency of use of the languages, or about other experiences--

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[167] Wissler, op. cit., 1913, pp. 451ff.

106 separation, travel, better education, or some other factor which
121 might be important.

177 The "Level of English" ratings, of course, are relative; those
184 among the sample who speak least fluently are rated "fair" because
[191] people are known, outside the probability sample, who are much less
fluent in their use of English. A "poor" rating is left open for such
people.

[797] Church Attendance is included in the table because it is hoped that attendance at Christian services might give an index of variable commitment to Christian religion, as well as provide a measure of some typical interaction patterns. The most frequent rating in the column, "occasional" attendance, a translation of responses such as "once in a while," or "every now and then," does not appear to have diagnostic value. There remains a possibility that this information, expanded by available additional data, may have some significance when put within the context of sociocultural configurations that will be analyzed later.

[535] Western Dance is included to assess participation within a white social context and the ratings are self-explanatory.

[524] Cards, or card playing, has been mentioned previously and will be examined later if it is found to be a part of any meaningful configuration.

[575] Western Organizations membership is expected to indicate greater interest in activities related to white culture and possibly, according to the particular kind of organization--Veterans' clubs, Lions Club, Knights of Columbus, Masons, and similar lodges--give clues to striving for upward mobility within American society.

177 184 541 [526] previously described track meet are most comparable and the differences in attendance at each most revealing. In short, Indian-oriented parents attended the track meet but did not respond in the same way to the Egg Hunt and Fishing Derbies.

The Easter Egg Hunt of 1960 was held in an open field behind the Museum of the Plains Indian on the afternoon of Easter Sunday. The weather was much the same as it was for the track meet held one month later--cold and windy Approximately five hundred children, from both Indian, white, and white-oriented families took part. Children from the Cut Bank Boarding School were brought in by bus; children from Starr School and other nearby neighborhoods came in cars driven by a teacher or parent to join in the search with the youngsters of Browning.

● [575] Members of the Browning Youth Club and the American Legion had distributed quantities of eggs, which had been boiled and colored by school children, in the furrows and stubble of the forty acre field. Some of the eggs were marked and cash awards were given to the finders of the special eggs. Prizes, donated by service clubs and local merchants, were given also for the most eggs collected by one child and to the runners-up.

This was a large area and people arrived at irregular intervals. Many watched from their cars, others moved about the periphery of the field, making an accurate count of the adults difficult, but it was apparent that the majority of those present were white and white-oriented people. Indian-oriented parents were few and even the Indian-oriented political leaders were absent.

The Fishing Derbies drew a much smaller crowd, approximately two hundred children and sixty adults. The contests were held at a

177 184 541 small lake adjacent to Highway No. 2 a few miles southwest of Browning. An estimated one-third of the children taking part in these fishing contests were from Indian-oriented families, yet only four or five Indian-oriented adults were in attendance.

SemiPrivate and Private Interaction

177 184 In the realm of semiprivate interaction are included civic club meetings and bowling tournaments. The informants and the newspaper reports indicate an almost complete white-oriented participation in these activities.

● [515] Civic club membership is selective and based upon business, school or political leadership. The selection factors in operation are many and complex but it is clear that very few Indian-oriented people belong to these organizations; that these are areas of predominantly white-oriented interaction.

[526] [529] The bowling alley was completed after the field work was finished, so the conclusions about its use are based on newspaper reports.[175] They indicate that selective factors operate to maintain a predominant white and white-oriented participation, particularly in team and tournament play.

[574] Factors of social selection also work in private gatherings and visiting patterns between families and friends. The bonds of kinship draw some of the Indian-oriented into the visiting patterns of white-oriented people, but these occasions are infrequent. Economic and

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[175] Bowling news in The Glacier Reporter, op. cit., beginning with Vol. 30, No. 31, October 6, 1960, p. 6, and subsequent issues.

a veritable epidemic of society dances and ceremonials sprang up, 535
attended by all who could pay the price. Those who knew the songs
and rituals suddenly stepped into the limelight, even though they 796
may have had but few war deeds to their credit. Here was a new 555
opportunity to be known, to stand out before all others and to
espouse the Indian way of life. Men resolved to join every society
and to own every medicine bundle. Then in a smoking ceremony
where each could display his ritual accomplishments, even the
young who had never seen an enemy camp could compete on equal
grounds with the taunts of the old. In terms of property and sacred
regalia they might even make these old warriors shy before them.

As a result medicine bundles and society regalia were furiously 575
bought and sold. Each new buyer, showing his generosity by paying 778
more than the previous owner, ridiculed his society enemies for
stinginess. Prices for membership in the Horn society soared from [432]
a gun and blanket before treaty to a horse, and from one horse to [435]
several horses. These prices reflect the favourable conditions for
horse-breeding. In five years the number of horses on the reserve 231
doubled, from 540 in 1885 to 1,085 in 1890, according to the agency
estimates. In the years around 1900 there were nearly 3,000 horses, [435]
and it was not unknown to pay sixty horses for a Medicine Pipe.

Officialdom looked askance upon these activities, for this carefree 657
circus took time away from gardening and prolonged unnecessarily
the process of making the Blackfoot self-sufficient. At first 177
the great problems for the agents were in keeping the Indians on
the reserve, preventing horse-stealing, and attempting to interest
them in the care of their houses and gardens. Then the Sun Dance 796
with its misunderstood torture ceremony became an irritation. Some
whites conceived the chief object of the Sun Dance to be the furnishing 785
of a sadistic spectacle to the Indians, who were imagined 177
to smack their lips in delight as the young men tore the skewers 657
from their flesh.[1] As soon as this phase of the ceremony could be
abolished, the Sun Dance would disappear, they believed, for the

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[1] The Sun Dance was an annual ceremony intended to ensure the people against disaster. The central rites, led by a woman, lasted only four days, but many other events also occurred during this season. Since this was the one time of the year when the entire tribe camped together, it was an occasion for joyful renewing of acquaintance, exchanging property, and feasting bosom companions. Among such varied activities, the torture ceremony was a relatively minor event participated in by a few. These were mainly warriors on a raid who, in peril of their lives, had sought the aid of the sun, vowing that, if they returned safely, they would give flesh in return. If they escaped successfully, these men were obliged to fulfil their side of the contract. In the ceremony skewers were driven through the muscles of the chest and back to be torn loose by the participant in a dance.

Blackfoot declare that a generally "favourable trade balance" exists 574
in terms of generosity: more exports occur than imports. Some
Indians commented on this with pride, extolling Blackfoot gen- 431
erosity. Others have been less impressed, saying that the Blackfoot should not be the ones who are always giving.

Religious ceremonies may be viewed as an aspect of distribution. 796
Although the object of Blackfoot religion can be conceived as a
deflector of, or insurance against, certain malignant cosmic forces, the [771]
manner of achieving this constitutes a system of exchange and distribution. To overcome illness, for example, one vows to purchase 796
a certain medicine bundle, shield, or painted tipi from another.
Ceremonial transfer usually involves many persons singing the 425
songs and performing the proper ritual under the direction of a [155]
master of ceremonies who receives a fee for his services. At the
conclusion food is given to the guests. The cost of the transfer and
the price of the medicine bundle are borne by the recipient. Mem- 575
bership in sacred societies or acquiring a weasel-skin suit operates 425
the same way. The regalia purchased is regarded as a medicine
bundle and gives a guarantee against catastrophe.

A sacred object provides almost continuous opportunities for 778
generosity not only for the owner himself but for all members of his
family. Most sacred objects have annual ceremonies wherein its 796
songs are sung as the bundle is opened and displayed. Here, too, a
paid master of ceremonies is required to lead the songs. During such [465]
a ceremonial considerable quantities of food are given away to all [431]
present. Relatives may help by giving away a blanket, money, or
a horse to a guest in honour of the owner.

The most prosperous Indian, hence (in their terms) those on 422
best terms with cosmic forces, have bought and sold many sacred
objects. This matter of having owned sacred objects then becomes 778
a symbol of generosity. When one has owned a large number of [556]
them, say fifteen, an opportunity arises to exhibit generosity. Such
a person may hold a smoking ceremony at which time he can de- [796]
monstrate his past generosity by singing the songs of each sacred
object. Those with fewer sacred objects to their credit will be
unable to sing comparably, thus exposing their lack of generosity.

Many of these distributive mechanisms are used relatively little. 425
It is a rare year when a major sacred object or membership in a
sacred society changes hands. No Medicine Pipe was acquired 778
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425 except through death in the decade of the thirties; the Horn society
778 changed hands in 1932 and was still owned by the same members
in 1941; the present Old Women's society recently acquired three
575 new members. One of the Indians whose income we studied purchased a relatively minor sacred object. The only objects that
change hands regularly are the Sun Dance bundles which change
796 hands almost every year. Ceremonies for these sacred objects and
for the sacred societies, however, are more frequent. The Tobacco
796 Dances and the Sun Dance occur annually and serve as important
distributing agents. This is particularly the case with the Sun Dance,
431 which today is paid for not only by the buyer of the Sun Dance
bundle but by contributions from the chiefs and other prominent members of the tribe. To save it, the Sun Dance has been changed from a purely private vow to a semi-public obligation. The sacred societies, i.e., the Old Women's society and the Horns, also hold annual dances when the Indians are gathered for the Sun Dance. A few continue to hold ceremonies for their painted tipis, and in spring at the first thunder the Medicine Pipe owners stage annual demonstrations of their generosity. In winter and through the year the periodic vows of the Deer Dance or of the Ghost Dance, and Beaver Bundle activities require fees for the directing functionary and food for the guests. Four out of seven whose incomes were investigated contributed to these ceremonies, either by donating $2 to $5 for buying food or by giving money and blankets in honour of the owner of the sacred object or a member of the sacred society. Thus certain aspects of Blackfoot religion seem to be continuing as distributive systems.

575 In one sense the age societies may be said to have died out.
178 The frequent lively dances and regular sale to a younger group are
gone. According to Wissler, in 1905 there were at least seven active
societies among the Northern Blackfoot.[1] Today there are nominally four. One of the societies has not even held a dance for more
[425] than a decade. When these societies were active, they changed hands
every four years; a participant bought his dance regalia, held it four
years, and then sold it to one of a group of younger men. Today
this system appears to have died out as young men no longer care

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[1] C. Wissler, "Societies and Dance Associations of the Blackfoot Indians," *Anthropological Papers*, American Museum of Natural History, 1913, vol. 11, p. 360.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 94]

575 for these dances. Yet in another sense these societies continue.
Three of the four societies hold one or more dances during the course
178 of the year. At the New Year the Half-Braves give a dance; in
midwinter the Crazy Dogs hold another; the Prairie Chickens
575 may have one too. At the Sun Dance one or two societies always
535 dance. These dances, five or six during the year, constitute
[431] systems of exchange in the same way that religious ceremonials do.
Food and goods are given away by the members; their relatives
give away blankets, money, and shirts to visitors in honour of a
member.

Table V summarizes the distributive mechanisms on the reserve.[2]
434 A family is postulated which derives income from all sources.
This family is not the extended family but includes only the immediate
relatives. The sources of its income are indicated in the rectangles
across the top. Most terms are self-explanatory. *Wages* refers
to income from labour aside from the mines, e.g., work on the roads,
freighting, harvesting for whites, painting a house. *Other income*
includes income from trapping, fees for participating in religious
ceremonials, barter, selling bones, beadwork, gifts from relatives
or other Indians. The income from certain sources goes directly to
the family, from other sources via the agency to the family. What
the family receives may be exchanged directly for store produce or,
via credit, reach the same end. What does not go in that direction
goes to relatives, other Blackfoot and Indians off the reserve via
the indicated distributive mechanisms.

[128] [2] We should remember in studying this chart that the size of the connections
between the various institutions is only roughly indicative of the volume of flow
between various groups. There is no adequate means of computing the volume.
[437] One such difficulty may be seen if it be recalled that the objects exchanged consist
not only of cash but of articles varying from clothing to live-stock.

The chart itself is incomplete in many ways. It fails to show certain circular
[431] systems that are known to exist. For example, although cash is exchanged in
the store for food and clothing, some of this may re-enter the system of distribution
as gifts to Indians; yet this connection between whites and the family is
not shown on the table. Gifts between Indians, moreover, build up an obligation
which is reciprocated through other gifts, and we have shown no connection
between the rectangle labelled *relatives* and the rectangle labelled *others*. A portion
of the fees extracted from the family's income by the agency may come to
the family through haying or work in the threshing gang; we have shown no
connection between these fees and the rectangle labelled *wages*. Such circular
feature could not be represented here.

[436] Furthermore our table does not show the fact that certain commodities have
value in one distribution system but not in another. A range horse is of no
exchange value for whites but is of value for Indians as payment for sacred
objects. Thus food, clothing, furniture, live-stock, has exchange value in certain
systems only.

younger people rather than keep on repaying the older as he had 561
done after his own war parties. The younger men would return these gifts with interest after a successful raid. A stake in a household also changed his interest from seducing women to preventing their seduction. To ensure stability or overcome misfortune, he acquired sacred bundles and regalia. By virtue of the supernatural reinforcement derived from these bundles he achieved power in his utterances.

A second mechanism, age-grading, further organized the relationship of young and old. A boy with his comrades entered this 561
hierarchy of six to twelve age-societies by purchasing from the age- 575
group of his immediate elders their society regalia. Having held it four years, this group sold the regalia to its juniors and again bought the society regalia of the next older age-group. These societies held annual dances in the circle camp of the Sun Dance and solidified relations with one's own age-mates. Certain societies were also entrusted with various kinds of authority to maintain order in the camps. Between adjacent age-grades joking relationships existed, [522]
so that humorously turned but often keen-edged criticism furnished socially permitted opportunities for reprisal against the authority of one's elders. The relations of alternate age-grades were on the other hand friendly, thus effecting a dual division of the tribe with all ages represented in each half. In keeping with the authority of the elders was a progressive change in character of the societies with age. Not only did the price of membership increase so that fewer could afford to join as the series progressed, but to the older age-grades increasing supernatural powers were attached. Though the Bees for younger boys was mainly a large dancing society, the Horns at the top of the hierarchy had definite powers, rituals, and obligations of an extremely sacred character.

Today at the age of seven all Blackfoot children leave home to 872
attend one of the two missionary boarding-schools on the reserve. The term begins late in August and continues until after the Sun Dance is over in the last part of June. On occasional Saturday nights the little children only may return home, but not until the two-months' summer vacation is there any prolonged contact with their parents.

School curricula are directed towards training the young for elementary literacy in English, Christian outlook, and familiarity with white techniques of living. English is taught in the classroom [191]

177 in school may be used by Blackfoot women, if they fit the circumstances.
Probably standards of household cleanliness have been
elevated through school influence; bed linen is found in some homes,
and washing may be done with a hand-driven machine. It is the
woman who wants to demonstrate her adherence to white standards
who urges her husband to purchase a kitchen cabinet and a linoleum
carpet for the kitchen. In such regards the influence of white culture
via the schools persists, yet the major conversion of a woman to
Blackfoot ways occurs at the time of her marriage. Whether or not
she becomes an active participant in Indian ceremonials is largely
determined by the interests of her husband and the character of the
extended family. One young woman announced her eligibility for
the role of Sun Dance vower by participating in the tongue-cutting
ceremony, though she was under thirty. Others join with their
[561] husbands when the latter enter a society. The sole society for women
[575] is joined only by women over fifty whose interest in Indian ways
has long been established.

This change to Indian ways, it must be emphasized, is not a degrading experience to the individual concerned. Only in the eyes of those who are still trying to embrace a white outlook is this a humiliating experience. For the rest it means a renewal of solidarity with the past, the discovery of the true way of life, and the renouncing of an illusion. There is pride in being an Indian and adhering to the ways of one's ancestors. There was little security in striving for white values. As a devotee of Indian ways one gives up the ambivalent position of trying to become a replica of the whites who themselves deny the possibility. A certain psychic relaxation occurs that makes the avowed Indian stronger within himself.

Such a transition does not necessarily mean giving up one's mode
of earning a living, abandonment of a house for a tipi, nor wearing
buckskin attire. It is mainly a reorganization of values so that the
177 same behaviour occurs, though directed towards different ends. A
man should continue farming or mining, for industriousness is a
461 Blackfoot virtue too. However, the ardour for earning cash does
434 not seem so great. As an Indian he works for security by solidifying
the extended family rather than by acquiring white trappings for his
own household. Because in time these trappings are all given away,
many an Indian home is quite bare. A man senses his obligations to
177 kinsmen and the necessity for solidarity with them. When the pay
434 cheque comes, he buys blankets and food to give away instead of

177 in every respect, yet he sought actively to convert others to his
faith. This was regarded as dangerous and caused considerable fric-
[797] tion until he ceased to proselytize. No doubt other criteria of accep-
table conduct for a devotee of Indian ways can be found, but con-
siderable latitude of deviation seems to be tolerated, as was also the
case in buffalo days.

Let us observe finally what effect these changes have had on
177 ceremonial structure. First we see the collapse of the old structure
of age-societies. Though four of the societies still exist, their char-
561 acter has been radically altered. The Prairie Chickens society last
575 changed hands during the early twenties, was danced a few times
at the Sun Dance camp, and then practically ceased to function.
177 Its members, who are now in their early thirties, have little interest
in Indian ways, and whenever the older men encourage them to hold
561 a dance, they maintain they are too busy. In winter time the mem-
575 bers occasionally hold a dance in Crowfoot Hall, but here the newer
535 dances such as the Owl Dance rather than the traditional Prairie
Chicken dance are preferred. The Crazy Dog society, a step higher
in the age-grade hierarchy, has shared a similar fate. Though it has
danced a few times within recent years, the dance positions were
occupied mostly by older men interested in a display rather than
the incumbents who were busy farming.

Only the Half Braves, now a society of middle-aged men, con-
tinues the tradition of holding an annual dance at the circle camp.
This secular society, formerly for much younger men, is now made
177 up of those who have turned to the Indian style of life. There are,
however, a number of age-grades represented in its membership of
561 predominately wealthier men. Single members are recruited from
575 time to time from those who would normally belong to the alternate
age-grade, and thus the joking derision of the adjacent age-grades
can be maintained. Occasionally a society hand game is held where
this organized group plays the unorganized survivors of the ad-
jacent age-grades, but this is infrequent. It is possible that in a few
years the Crazy Dogs will reorganize similarly taking in some of the
at present unorganized middle-aged men of the adjacent age-grades.

177 The most dramatic change has taken place in the Horn Society.
Formerly at the top of the age-grade hierarchy, its members pos-
561 sessed supernatural powers through the ownership of regalia. Today
575 its members are often the forty-year-olds who are just embracing
778 Indian ways. In fact vowing membership in this society may be one
of the first signs of a transition. Since the supernatural power of the

Horn Society is the greatest of any society, its strength is regarded 177
as comparable to that of the Christian churches. Furthermore, its
power has been increased by combining into it the regalia of the 561
former Kit-Fox Society, a defunct society with great supernatural 575
power. Thus when Christian power has failed, one appeals at once 778
to the strongest of Indian powers. This change occurred during
World War I when after a lapse of about thirty years the Horn [771]
Society was revived by a group of comrades because of their interest
in Indian ways. At that time it still had age-grade character. After
the influenza epidemic of 1918 it was bought out by persons of [155]
various ages who had vowed to join in order to ensure recovery. Since then persons of many ages have formed groups to join the society, though the majority is middle-aged. Because it is vowed only in time of severe crisis, the period of holding membership is now about ten years instead of the former four.

The Sun Dance itself has also been forced into conformity with 177
reserve life. The circle camp no longer makes the four changes in
location before building the lodge. Without the participation of 796
young people, the circle is a thin line of tipis and tents with numerous gaping holes where an extinct band formerly camped. Because of farm work and the Calgary Stampede, it lasts only about a week instead of several weeks. On the climactic day of general participation to erect the Sun Dance lodge, a handful of individuals kneel with the calico offerings before the ceremonial leaders to have their faces painted. The past enthusiasm at raising the centre pole and pushing the rafters into place has become almost perfunctory. Few go forth to gather the green branches that form the outer wall. Only one or two dancers appear in yellow paint to dance inside the lodge. Nevertheless, the ceremony is considered indispensable, for without it the entire tribe risks misfortune. Since the eligible vowers are few and cannot afford the frequent, repeated expense that is involved, financing has become a public interest. Donations are solicited from the age-mates of the vower's husband; Horn Society members and chiefs make contributions as part of their community obligations. Under these circumstances the Sun Dance continues as a reunion of those who embrace Indian ways and as a time for them to display their solidarity with the past.

Certain features of the Tobacco Dance have also changed. There has been a comparable simplification of ritual so that some of the winter "sings" for opening the Beaver Bundles have been omitted. More important is the change in character of ownership 177
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824 been able to review this with him. He said that the cutting of small trees
[825] was sanctified with fire originating from a sweet grass lighter.

TOBACCO

Nicotiana multivalvis

276 796 Smoking was an important part of Blackfoot ritual: like the communal
182 meal, it tended to emphasize the inclusiveness of those partaking.
575 249 Traditionally, the native tobacco (Nicotiana multivalvis) was ceremonially
796 planted and harvested by members of a North Blackfoot society known as the
Tobacco society (Fig. 4). (It is noteworthy that this society was not a
[184] [561] part of the age-graded system and that it was maintained only by the North
Blackfoot.) For about a week, each spring, members gathered at the sacred
planting-grounds. Elaborate ceremonies accompanied the sowing. The tobacco
[237] [415] seed, with fertilizer, had been stored through the winter in pericardium
containers of the society's Tobacco bundles. (The same bundle, less certain
paraphernalia, was alternately called the Beaver bundle.)

249 [782] Between the period of planting and havensting, taboos prevented anyone
[784] from visiting the plots, because the young plants were being tended by
[786] supernatural Small People, who did their gardening in return for offerings
[776] of miniature apparel, which had been left at the close of the planting
ceremony (Fig. 5).

824 778 At harvest, in the fall, the seed was used to replenish the bundle
276 supplies, and the leaves were distributed to the appropriate claimants, who
[249] in turn later distributed leaves to the other divisions of the tribe. The
tobacco usually was mixed with the leaves of kinnikinnik (Arctos-taphylos uva-ursi) or the dried cambium or red-osier dogwood (Cornus stolonifera).
The mixtures were included with all religious bundles---either in the bundle
proper or in a preliminary bundle.

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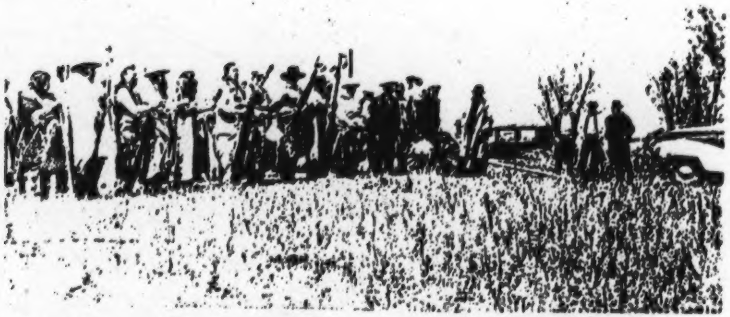

Fig. 4 — Preliminary dancing before planting ceremonies of the Tobacco Society (North Blackfoot). Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute.

137 to the lush ribar-bottoms. Our information has to do only with those
growing along the prairie streams (Fig. 7).

343 Sweat lodges (Fig. 8, 9 & 10) were associated with all of the ceremonial
824 bundles, with most of the societies, with all of the medicine pipes, and
[778] [178] with the Holy Lodge, or Okan, of the Sun Dance. Traditionally, the water
birch (Betula occidentalis) was used in the construction of sweat lodges;
however, in recent times, because of a difference of opinion among ceremonalists as to the origin of birch, only willows (Salix spp.) came to be used.
A given number of wands were sharpened at both ends. One end was planted in
the ground, and the wand was woven through the rest of the wands until the
other end reached the ground, where it was forced in. The sweat lodge was
a dome-shaped shelter in which two to six men could sit. When it was ready
for use it was covered with skin robes or blankets. In some cases the
[778] sweat lodges were painted and the ceremonial bundles were placed on top of
the lodge. Sweat lodges also were built for bundles that had not been used
for a long time.

[823] The door always faced east. (Sometimes there was a west door, through
which the participants left after the ceremony.) A small pit, of variable
size and shape, was excavated in the center of the floor, and hot stones
[782] were placed in it. Due west from the east door was the sweet-grass smudge.
The floor was covered with sage (Artemisia ludoviciana), which was used for
[782] cleansing. (Sometimes a small offering of meat and sage was buried in the
[27] base of the pit before the hot stones were rolled in.) Sage was chewed by
[784] assistants to the participants during the sweat-lodge rituals to relieve
thirst resulting from taboos against the consumption of liquids.

575 The Horn Society sweat lodge was constructed of fourteen willows. The
343 824 Holy Women's sweat lodge in the Sun Dance was made of one hundred willows,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24]

575 343 824 which had been gathered by members of the Pigeon Society. The Motokiks Society (a woman's society) constructed its lodge with twelve willows. Medicine Pipes had fourteen. The used frame of a sweat lodge was left on the prairie (Fig. 10).

[184] [484] In winter some persons built sweat lodges on a circular ground-frame. We were told of a man named Stumic-so-suc (Buffalo Bull's Fat) who built such a lodge and transported it with him, intact, whenever camp was moved.

[796] Another function of the sweat lodge was to seal the ceremonial bundles at the close of the Sun Dance.

575 824 [796] Annual ceremonies of the Motokiks and Kaispa Societies used the pitch of willow galls for incense. It was also used during the transfer ceremonies of the Yellow-buffalo and Black-fuffalo tipi designs, the Hairlock robe, various tipi doors and numerous personal amulets.

SAGE

Artemisia ludoviciana Nutt.

824 Three kinds of sage were recognized by the Blackfoot, but only one was used in religious ritual. Artemisia ludoviciana (Fig. 11), known as man sage, is common throughout the prairie and foothills and may be gathered at any time during the summer months. It was fresh when used in the sweat lodges.

796 824 Participants in the sweat-lodge ceremonies wiped the sweat from their bodies with this sage. Sage was used to cleanse the headdresses of the Horn Society before they were transferred to new owners. In that transferral the headdress was laid on a bed of man sage. The singers of the All Smoking ceremony cleansed themselves with it. When ceremonial moccasins were put away they were packed with man sage.

The Holy Offering of the All Smoking ceremony and of certain Horn

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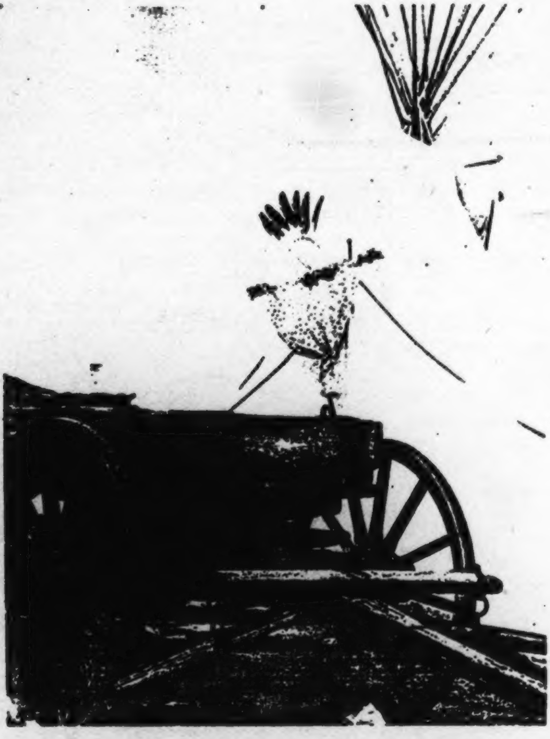

Fig. 12 — Holy offering of the Horn Society of the Blood Indians, note sage (Artemisia ludoviciana) on the cross piece. Photo courtesy of J. Dawson.

824 796 remainder of the soup was given to one or another of the women, who would
262 take it home to her children.

Although the saskatoon was the berry most often used in making the soup, one informant told us that the choke cherry (Prunus virginiana) was brewed for the Beaver bundle ceremony and by those who had vowed to sponsor a Holy Lodge.

824 The saskatoon also figured in the Tobacco Planting ceremony of the North
[249] [237] Blackfoot. The berries were mixed with elk manure and tobacco seed, and the
mixture was planted in a small prairie plot.

The saskatoon was referred to as the "real berry bush".

POPLARS

Populus spp.

824 346 The poplars that grow in profusion along the river-bottoms and dominate
the parkland bordering the prairie served in Blackfoot religion only for the
making of the centerpoles of the ceremonial lodges (Fig. 14).

The centerpoles of the Okan (Holy Lodge of the Sun Dance) and the Motokiks
Society lodges were made originally from aspen (Populus tremuloides, Fig. 15);
292 824 later, any kind of river cottonwood was used. In addition, the Motokiks
● 575 wore headwreaths of aspen (Fig. 16). The rest of the Motokiks lodge was
575 346 constructed of travois frames, which were leaned against each other to form
[417] a framework for the walls and roof.

346 For the Okan, the pole was chosen by the members of the Horn Society who
824 796 had acted as scouts. They derived their authority from bundles owned for
[575] [701] this purpose. A scout had to be a man renowned for courage and honesty.
[778] When he found a suitable tree he counted coup four times before felling it.
[555] When it was down, the bystanders rushed to the tree and counted coup on it
as though it were an enemy; indeed, that was what it symbolized.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 331]

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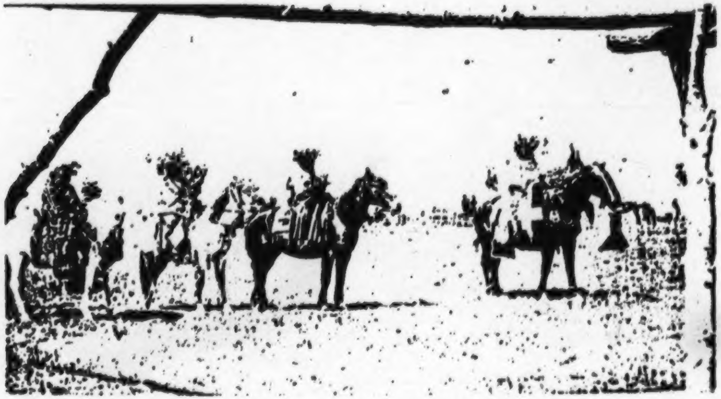

Fig. 16 — Motokiks Society members wearing head wreaths of aspen at Blackfoot Sun Dance. Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute.

346 The tree was debranched and carried (by wagon, in later days) to its
824 place of erection. All could help in raising the center pole, and while it
796 was going up everybody sang songs of rejoicing and fired guns into the air.
Then certain societies were chosen to gather branches for use in completing
[178] the lodge. In recent times, among the North Blackfoot these duties have
[575] fallen to the Prairie Chicken and Crazy Dog societies. They return on
horseback, holding the boughs erect and singing songs of joy.

[823] The parade traverses the camp sunwise and enters by the west gate (Fig. 17).

CREEPING JUNIPER

Juniperus horizontalis Moench

824 Creeping juniper (Fig. 18), called sik-si-nou-koo ("black round object
(berry)") in Blackfoot, is a common plant of the plains. Although it is
strongly aromatic, it was not used as incense; however, there were other
uses for its branches and berries.

824 The Holy Lodge dancer of the Sun Dance performed upon a carpet of
796
[794] juniper branches. It was forbidden to spit on the covering; instead, one
[237] had to lift the branches and spit under them. An Okan dancer held the wing
[292] of an owl in his left hand and a branch of juniper in the other. One
informant said that, in addition to carrying the branch, some dancers wore
headpieces of juniper berries; the headpiece had seven berries representing
[532] the Bunched Stars (Plaiades). (The same stars are portrayed in tipi designs.)
Sprigs of creeping juniper were also used symbolically to decorate the altar
of the Marten-designed tipi.

[533] Although there does not seem to have been any song directly associated
with the creeping juniper, there was an indirect reference in the songs of
[292] the Weasel-tailed suits. These suits, which were fringed with white weasel
[237] tails, were considered to be very powerful and had to be transferred just

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 36]

575 we have found
824 fir needles in the initiation bundles of the Horn Society.
778 We were told that the needles were mixed with the dry paint to make it smell better. Fir needles also were chewed and then sprayed over the Horn
[783] ceremonial containers to purify them.

[783] Fir needles were used as incense during the transfer ceremonies of the Black Spring tipi design and the Bear Medicine Hat bundle.

PUFFBALLS

Lycoperdon spp.

824 The prairie puffball (a fungus) figured in Blackfoot religious life. The Blackfoot name for it is ka-ka-toos ("less powerful"), which implies that puffballs are stars fallen to earth during supernatural events.

[776] There is a story about the woman who married Morning Star and had a child by this supernatural being. When she returned to earth with the Natoas bundles and her child she was directed by the star-personage to keep her baby from touching the ground for fourteen days. She managed all right until the day she went for wood and left the child in the care of a grandmother. The grandmother was careless, and the baby touched the ground. It turned into a large puffball and returned to the heavens as the Fixed Star (North Star), plugging the hole left by the woman when she pulled out the Holy Turnip.

[782] Lycoperdon and other fungus, Polyporus, were used as incense to keep
[775] ghosts away. They were also included in the Firelighters bundle of the Horn
[372]
[342] Society for use as a kind of punk to light a fire easily. On certain
[532] painted lodges (for example the Otter lodge, shown in Fig. 20), the small
circles at the base of the tipi represented the puffball (not lakes as is
commonly thought), which insured fire to those within.

000 LUPINES

Lupinus spp.

824 We have been
● 575 told that the power root was once included in the rites of
[561] most of the age-graded societies and of the Matoas Beaver and Medicine Pipe bundles. Most of these rites are now extinct; only the rites of the Horns and the Motokiks persist, and they are incomplete.

776 In the Horn Society the root figured mainly in the initiation ceremonies:
824 it could be found in the nontransferable initiation bundles. Having been
575
778 distributed by the owner of the Spear Staff bundle to the others, down to the owner of the Spear Staff bundle to the others down to the owner of the Marten, the root was kept in the mouth and used to bless the initiates. After the ritual the root was tied to the paint-application sticks (Fig. 23 &24), to fortify and replenish the supernatural power inherent in the paint. The same was done with a wooden scratching-pin, which was either worn in the hair or attached to one's garments. This was done in preparation for the next opening ceremony.

[842] Sau-gas-sim was used during the secret ceremony of the Horns, in which the chief ceremonialist participated in a fertility rite with the initiates's wife. Pieces of the root were attached to the binding of the Spear Staff (with bundle), which was the head staff of the society.

[754] Apparently, curses were indulged in by the Horn Society as a whole. In
[343] this case a special sweat lodge was constructed. A human figure representing the condemned man was drawn in the bottom of a pit intended to contain hot stones. The stones were brought in at a designated time and placed on the drawing to represent the victim's suffering. The power root was kept in the mouth during this ceremony.

[302] The Pigeon Society used the same root during the ritual of body-painting
[292] and in the same manner as did the Horn Society. The root was tied to the headdresses of all members of this society.

000 Society members were very careful to avoid being provoked while the root

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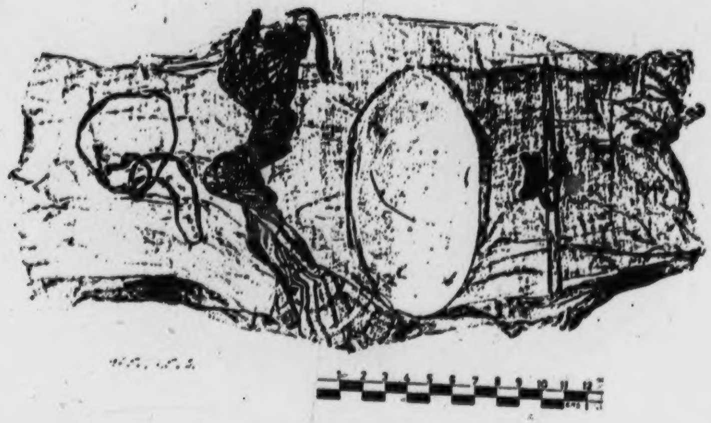

Fig. 23 — Unit from an initiation bundle of the Blackfoot Horn Society showing power root attached to paint application stick. Photo courtesy of the Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta.

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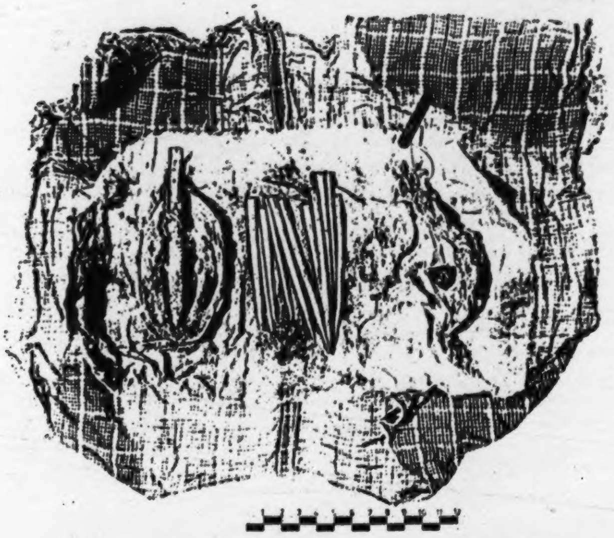

Fig. 24 — Unit from an initiation bundle of the Blackfoot Horn Society showing the power root exposed. Photo courtesy of the Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta.

578 Society
824 members were very careful to avoid being provoked while the root
575 was being used. Angry words spoken in such circumstances were likely to become a sad reality to the person rebuked.

824 The influence of the root was only temporary: it lasted just as long as the root was kept by the person using it. A man was open to the same bad influences that could affect him before, once he stopped using sau-gas-sim. Men on the reserve who still use the root are feared by those who believe in its power.

[126] Although we have had little difficulty in obtaining information about the root, we have been unable to gather a specimen in the field; our only
[778] identification comes from herbarium material. (Possession depends on ceremonial transfer from a previous owner——an event which we were unable to arrange. Otherwise the power in the root might have bad effects, not only for the unanointed but also for all persons associated with him.)

Sau-gas-sim is certainly unique among the plants used by the Blackfoot for religious purposes. The power root placed the subject in a much more intimate relationship with the mysterious forces. Its proper application
[754] had devastating results, and its misuse had serious consequences. Whether this is evidence of withcraft among the Blackfoot is an open question; much more work needs to be done on this subject.

BALSAM ROOT

Balsamorhiza sagittata (pursh) Nutt.

Balsam root (Fig. 25) is a showy sunflower that brightens the foothills in late spring.

824 The root of ohm-ah-gahs ("big turnip") was used as incense during the
783 preparatory rites for the ceremonial runner who, in pre-horse days, had the
224 duty of hearding the buffalo toward the piskun (buffalo jump). The runner bathed himself in the smoke from a smudge of the dried root; according to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 49]

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INDEPENDENT BUNDLES (CONTINUED)

- Moon design
- Half-yellow design
- Mountain Sheep design
- Yellow Mink design
- Winter-painted design
- All-stars design
- Big Circle design
- Striped design
- 778 824 Head-down design
- 575 Fish design
- Rib design
- Gnawed design
- Sun design
- Black design
- Blue Star design
- Downward Star design
- Red Striped design
- Eagle Trap design
- Yellow Thunder design
- Wave design
- Loop design
- Four Tail design
- Arrow design
- Pine Tree design
- Spider design
- Butterfly design
- Swallow design
- Badger design
- Weasel design
- Coyote design
- Wolf design
- Goat design
- Mule Deer design

SOCIETY BUNDLES

- Black Seizers Society
  - Black Seizers medicine pipe
  - Wolf-collar bundle
  - Crow headpiece bundles*A
  - Red Seizers bundles
  - Coyote bundle
- Braves Society
  - Bear-belt bundles
  - All-white Braves bundles
  - Willow Braves bundles
  - Black Braves bundles
- Bull Society
  - Bull headdress bundles
  - Buffalo-scalp headdress bundles
  - Straight-up headdress bundles
- Catchers Society

A./In this and other societies the plural indicates that the bundles are alike.--Analyst/

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SOCIETY BUNDLES (CONTINUED)

  - Black-covered pipe bundle
  - Quiver bundle
  - Bow bundles
- Crazy Dog Society
  - Rattle bundles
  - Leader's headdress bundle
- Crow-carrier Society
  - Crow-headpiece bundle
  - Staff bundles
  - White Crow-carrier bundles
  - Pink Crow-carrier bundles
  - Black Seizers Axe-owner bundle
- Crow Waters Society
  - Society bundles
- Dog Society
  - Black Rope bundles
  - Black Dog bundles
  - Yellow Dog bundles
  - Coyote bundle
  - Snake-carrier bundles
- Flies Society
  - Claw bundles
- Horn Society (Although there were Peigan members, the Horns operated as autonomous societies only among the Blood and the North Blackfoot.)
  - Straight-up headdress bundles
  - Horned-bonnet headdress bundles
  - Arrow headdress bundle
  - Initiation bundles
  - Scout bundle
  - Firelighter's bundle
  - White-wrapping staff bundle
  - Black or White Otter staff bundle
  - Yellow staff bundle
  - Wristlets staff bundle
  - Kit Fox staff bundles
  - Kit Fox headdress bundles
  - Hard Spear staff bundle
  - Rider's staff bundle (Also known as the Blackfoot staff to the Blood; introduced in 1912 from the North Blackfoot.)
  - Horn Society drum bundles (North Blackfoot)
  - Horn Society rattle bundles (North Blackfoot)
  - Big Smoke bundle (North Blackfoot)
  - Staff Second-highest in Power bundle (North Blackfoot)
  - Retreating staff bundle (North Blackfoot)
  - Otter bundle (North Blackfoot)
  - Swan Hip staff bundle
  - Marten staff bundle
  - Broad-wrapping staff bundle

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SOCIETY BUNDLES (CONTINUED)

- Kaispa Society (Sioux Society)
  - Red Fox Whip bundle
  - Staff bundle
  - Eagle-belt bundles
  - Drum bundle
  - Clown bundle
  - Crow-belt bundle
  - Whistle bundles
  - Announcer bundle
  - Belt bundles
  - Long Knife bundle
  - Straight-up headdress bundle
  - Whip bundles
  - Skewer bundles
  - Initiation staff bundle
- Kit Fox Society
  - Kit Fox-skin headdress bundle
  - Kit Fox staff bundles
- Motokiks Society
  - Box-and-arrow bundles (North Blackfoot)
  - Snake headdress bundles
  - Scabby-bull headdress bundles
  - Lame-bull headdress bundles
  - Bird headdress bundles
- Pigeon Society
  - Coyote bundle
  - Rattle bundle
  - Bear Pigeon bundles
  - Yellow Pigeon bundles
  - Pink Pigeon bundles
  - Smear staff bundle
- Prairie Chicken Society
  - Rattle bundles
- Small Flies Society
  - Claw bundles
- Tails Society
  - Breech-cloth bundles
- Tobacco Society
  - Tobacco Society bundles
- Bad Horn Society
  - Bad Horn Society bundles
- Crow Society
  - Crow Society bundles
- Bee Society
  - Bee Society bundles

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

MEN'S SOCIETIES.

In each division of the Blackfoot Indians there was a series of societies for men known as the iˣkŏnnŏkatsiyiks (all of the same age or experience, chums, etc.), usually translated as all-comrades. 561 575

The first notice of these organizations seems to occur in Maximilian:—

> The bands, unions, or associations, mentioned when we were speaking of the Assiniboins, are found among the Blackfeet, as well as all the other American tribes. They have a certain name, fixed rules and laws, as well as their peculiar songs and dances, and serve in part to preserve order in the camp, on the march, in the hunting parties, &c. Seven such bands, or unions, among the Blackfeet, were mentioned to me....New members are chosen into all these unions, who are obliged to pay entrance; medicine men, and the most distinguished men, have to pay more than other people.[1]

Then follow some two pages given over to a brief characterization of each society in turn. They were first listed by Maximilian[2] as dances: 1. *Sohskriss*, mosquitoes. 2. *Emitähks*, the dogs. 3. *Sähnipähks*, the kit-fox. 4. *Mastŏhpate*, raven-bearer. 5. *Ehtskinna*, the horns. 6. *Innakehks*, the catchers. 7. *Stomick*, the bulls. At another place (575) he mentions "der Tollkühnen (des imprudens ou des téméraires)" and states that the above seven all danced in the same manner but differed in the singing.

In 1892 the Rev. John Maclean read a paper before the Canadian Institute on the social organization of the Blackfoot, seemingly based upon observations among the Blood division from which we take the following:—

> There are several grades of warriors among the tribes. The writer found the following grades among the Blood Indians:—
> Mokaikinûki, the Brave Warriors: Heavy Shield is head of this band of soldiers.
> Mastoqpatûpi, the Crow Warriors.
> Imitaiïnaki, the Dog Warriors.
> Etsinaki, the Horn Warriors.
> Kaispa, the Sioux Warriors.
> Siksinakai, the Black Warriors.
> *Potaina*, better known as "Joe Healey," told me that the men must be thirty-four or thirty-five years of age before they are admitted into the ranks of the black soldiers. The highest position obtainable by a warrior is after having passed through all the military grades he receives the full rank of warrior.[3]

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[1] Maximilian, 115, 117.
[2] Maximilian, German edition, 577.
[3] Maclean, 255.

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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At about the same time Grinnell's "Blackfoot Lodge Tales" appeared, giving a full list for the Piegan:—

> "This association of the All Comrades consisted of a dozen or more secret societies, graded according to age, the whole constituting an association which was in part benevolent and helpful, and in part military, but whose main function was to punish offences against society at large. All these societies were really law and order associations. The Mŭt'-siks, or Braves, was the chief society, but the others helped the Braves.
>
> A number of the societies which made up the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* have been abandoned in recent years, but several of them still exist. Among the Pi-kun'-i, the list—so far as I have it—is as follows, the societies being named in order from those of boyhood to old age:—

Societies of the All Comrades.

Tsi-stiks',	Little Birds,	includes boys from 15 to 20 years old.
Kŭk-kuiks',	Pigeons,	men who have been to war several times.
Tŭis-kis'-tiks,	Mosquitoes,	men who are constantly going to war.
Mŭt'-siks,	Braves,	tried warriors.
Knăts-o-mi'-ta,	All Crazy Dogs,	about forty years old.
Ma-stoh'-pa-ta-kiks	Raven Bearers.	
E'-mi-taks,	Dogs,	old men. Dogs and Tails are different societies, but they dress alike and dance together and alike.[1]
Is'-sui,	Tails,	
Ĕts-kai'-nah,	Horns, Bloods,	obsolete among the Piegans, but still exists with Bloods.
Sin'-o-pah,	Kit-foxes, Piegans	
Ē-in'-a-ke,	Catchers or Soldiers,	obsolete for 25 or 30 years, perhaps longer.
Stŭ'miks,	Bulls,	obsolete for 50 years.

> The members of the younger society purchased individually, from the next older one, its rights and privileges, paying horses for them. For example, each member of the Mosquitoes would purchase from some member of the Braves his right of membership in the latter society. The man who has sold his rights is then a member of no society, and if he wishes to belong to one, must buy into the one next higher. Each of these societies kept some old men as members, and these old men acted as messengers, orators, and so on.
>
> The change of membership from one society to another was made in the spring, after the grass had started. Two, three, or more lodge coverings were stretched over poles, making one very large lodge, and in this the ceremonies accompanying the changes took place."[2]

In 1905 the writer gave a list and a brief characterization of these

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[114]

[1] The statement as to similarity between the dogs and tails is evidently based on misinformation, see p. 388 and 395.

[2] Grinnell, 220-221, 222.

561 was released by the one purchasing his place. However, before the pur-
575 chaser could draw the arrow and release him, he must pledge his daughter
796 as a wife to the black-dog or if he had no daughter, must furnish him with a
wife. We were told that this custom originated from the following incident.
432 Once when the transfer ceremony was under way and the black-dog was
173 still pinned to the ground, they were suddenly attacked by Crow Indians.
582 All of the dancers ran away except the man who was pinned fast and who
by obligation was obliged to stand fast. Being a brave man he danced in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 397]

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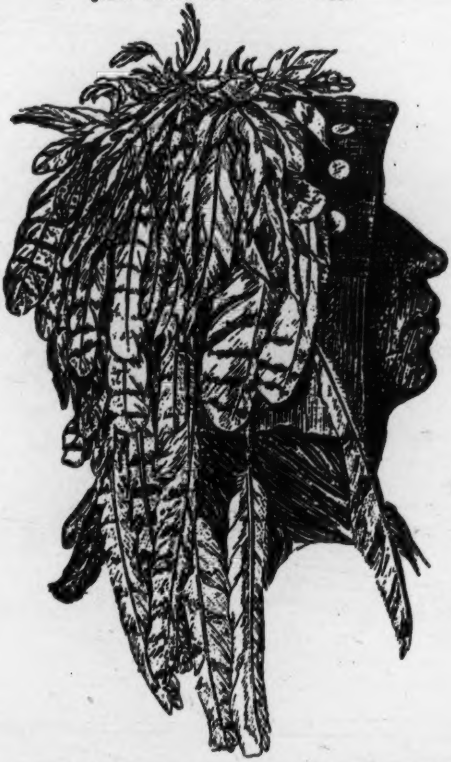

Fig. 15 (50-5400c). Headdress for a Member of the Dog Society.

/367/

561 societies, mentioned here for completeness, he having gathered
575 most of the data for this paper before that date. (1)

1. Wissler, (f), 173.

This origin myths were published in 1908. (2)

2. This series, vol. 2.

Of more recent literature we may first note two brief references by Schultz, (3)

3. Schultz, 115, 139.

a text by Uhlenbeck (4)

4. Uhlenbeck, 45.

and a rather full account by McClintock. (5)

5. McClintock, 441-465.

This latter is of unusual interest since it is the extended narrative of a single North Piegan informant and enumerates the kit-fox, mosquitoes, pigeons, all-brave-dogs, and braves.

The latest and perhaps the most ambitious account is by Curtis:--

> The men of the Peigan tribe were organized into a series of warrior societies in which membership was based on age. Arranged in the order of the age of their members these groups were: Doves, Flies, Braves, All Brave Dogs, Tails, Raven Bearers, Dogs, Kit-foxes, Catchers, and Bulls. As a whole they were known as All Comrades. The function of the societies was primarily to preserve order in the camp, during the march, and on the hunt, to punish offenders against the public welfare; to protect the camp by guarding against possible surprise by an enemy; to be informed at all times as to the movements of the buffalo herds and secondarily by intersociety rivalry to cultivate the military spirit, and by their feasts and dances to minister to the desire of members for social recreation. This was true more particularly of the companies composed of warriors in the full vigor of youth or middle age; but the ritualistic performances of those comprising the elderly men--the Kit-foxes, the Catchers, and the Bulls--seem to have partaken of the nature of religious ceremonies. Probably the members of these three did not perform police duty.
>
> When the various bands of the tribe first assembled in the spring, the chief invited the leaders of the societies to a feast, during which they discussed the general route of the coming summer's travel. An understanding having been reached, the chief appointed two or three of the younger societies to be the camp police for the season; and when the camp was moved again, the two leaders of each society thus honored pitched their lodges as one near the centre of the camp. These double lodges became the headquarters of the men on duty, a place of fraternal feasts and councils. Theoretically the societies chosen to control the camp were subject to the orders of the tribal chief, but their duties were so clearly defined that

/367 cont./

561 575 practically they were their own masters. The chiefs of the organizations named as guardians of the public welfare selected the camping places on the general route previously agreed upon; and differences of opinion in this matter were settled by a vote of all the police chiefs. As darkness approached, the camp soldiers shouted warnings that all should remain in their lodges after nightfall, for any man found prowling about, whether for the purpose of seeking a meeting with his sweetheart or attempting to play the wild pranks in which the youth took such delight, would be taken, beaten if he resisted, deprived of his robe, which would be slashed into ribbons, and sent back naked to his lodge. Some of the soldiers kept watch over the camp until sunrise, each man patrolling that portion of the camp-circle in which his own band /368/ dwelt, stopping at the edge of that section and meeting there the sentinel of the next band and exchanging signals with him....Guarding the camp at night was performed in turn by the societies appointed for the season's police duty. (1)

1. Curtis, 6, 16-18.

114 In the detailed accounts that follow this author gives many dates of origin and extinction as if the exact time had been determined for each case, but he doubtless means that these are his own approximations based upon the statements of informants. The few special points raised by this writer will be considered under their respective heads.

114 121 While the preceding accounts taken in their entirety give us quite a detailed account of the Piegan series of societies, they are still far from satisfactory to such a comparative study as we have in mind for this volume; hence, we have felt justified in presenting all our data even though there is some duplication.

561 575 Mr. Grinnell seems the first to call attention to the rank and age system of the all-comrade societies, and the implication that a man must enter through the lowest rank. We have discussed many aspects of this ranking with older Indians, seeking to arrive at a consistent view of its functions. No one seemed to have formulated the principles of procedure, except that there was a definite order of rank. It was generally agreed that this rank expressed the relative ages, or dates of origin, of the respective societies. Thus, the pigeons of the Piegan would be the most recent acquisition to the series, while the bulls was the first. Should a new one originate [554] it must stand below the pigeons. Our informants insisted that the greater worth of the bulls was chiefly due to their relative antiquity and in no wise dependent upon the ages and worth of the members. This may be but a native theory, but if such a conception is held by the leaders in society activities, it must be accepted by us as expressing the functional relations of the various ranks, even though its historical value be small.

/368 cont./

561 575 In any case we have a rank not based upon the qualifications of members but upon assumed seniority in historical origin. Yet the age qualification was not lost sight of, for our informants held to the rule that in joining a society one must secure the place of one's senior in age. This was not absolute as will be noted in the records of two Piegan Indians (p. 426) but seems to apply to most transfers.

Under such a system it is obvious that the rank, or order, [184] of succession must be fixed like the grades in an elementary school. The Piegan and the Blood divisions were able to enumerate their societies in such a definite series, but [128] among our North Blackfoot informants there was great difference of opinion as to the order in the list (p. 419). In consequence, the following

[text continues on p. 369]

table should be taken as tentative in so far as it applies to that division. 561
In order to facilitate comparison we have arranged the lists in parallel 575
columns.
[128]
[184]

List of Blackfoot Societies.

Piegan	Blood	North Blackfoot
Pigeons	———	———
Mosquitoes	Mosquitoes	Mosquitoes
———	———	Bees
———	———	Prairie-chickens
———	———	Crows
Braves	All-brave-dogs	All-brave-dogs
———	———	Bad-horns
All-brave-dogs	Braves	Black-soldiers
Front-tails	Black-soldiers	Braves
Raven-bearers	Raven-bearers	Raven-bearers
Dogs	Dogs	Dogs
Kit-foxes	Horns	Horns
Catchers	Catchers	Catchers
Bulls	Bulls	Bulls
———	———	Kit-fox

It will be noted that Grinnell heads his list with the little-birds. Our 561
informants objected to this on the ground that this was but a name for boys 575
about to join a society, they having neither organization nor regalia. Others 114
claimed that the name applied only to those preparing to join the pigeons, whence its significance. Since the pigeons are the first in order, these statements are not entirely contradictory. His list also differs in the rank of the front-tails and the raven-bearers, but on this point the list of Curtis agrees with ours. The two brave-dogs, though not properly a society were nevertheless regarded by our informants as belonging to the all-comrades and as ranking the dogs (p. 397). The existence and significance of this pair seems to have escaped other observers.

The only attempt at a list of Blood societies we have noted, is the one by Maclean previously quoted. He includes the kaispa (grass dance) which is certainly an error, since our Blood informants never regarded this dance association as one of the all-comrade series. Further, there is nothing in the article cited to suggest that the rank of these societies was exactly determined by its author. For the North Blackfoot we have no previous list, but a preliminary report on them was filed in the Museum by Dr. Robert H. Lowie in 1907.

561 575 625 Grinnell has called attention to the police and military functions of these societies. The innŏki (police, or catchers) is the name for one of the higher ranks, but we were not able to learn of any special functions assigned to them. Perhaps the name is of historical significance, implying a former dominance (p. 403). According to our information no society had a monopoly of police duty, but all of those containing able-bodied men were likely to be called upon by the head men to guard the camp for a stated period. For any occasion the chiefs would call upon one or two of the societies instead of calling in individuals. The pigeons, mosquitoes, all-brave-dogs, and braves were the ones most often called.[1] During the summer when the tribal camp was formed preparatory to the sun dance the societies were almost constantly on duty. While on the march, the van, flanks, and rear were each screened by a society acting under the orders of the leaders. When in camp at night one or two were assigned to stand guard and enforce the camp regulations. This applied also to the buffalo-hunt. In short the specific duties, modes of punishing delinquents, etc., were the same as described in the preceding papers. It should be noted that these societies were called upon for specific duties and could not act until so commissioned. Students of democratic institutions can doubtless see in the random assigning of the societies as well as their constantly changing personnel, a nice balance or check upon arbitrary personal power. Indeed it would be difficult to conceive of a more ingenious scheme to prevent the permanent seizure of power by a police or soldier organization. However, we are disposed to regard police functions as entirely secondary and ceremonial functions as primary in Blackfoot societies.

With this preliminary statement we may take up the detailed descriptions for the Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfoot in turn.

PIEGAN SOCIETIES.

101 [561] [575] The names and ranks of the Piegan societies were given in the introductory chapter.[A] No distinction is made between the North and South Piegan because their separation is entirely due to the accidental fact that part of the Piegan division now lives in Canada, and because the present system of

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[623] [622] [203] [1] The All Comrades societies were the dominating factor in the tribal organization, and indeed the power of the head-chief depended largely on his cooperation with them. At the tribal council called by the chief, not only the chiefs and head-men but also the chiefs of the societies were summoned. These were called by name by the chief's criers, who were old men with strong voices. When the tribe was on the march the members of the warrior societies rode ahead, at the sides, and in the rear, to protect the others. The Braves, consisting of the oldest unmarried men, were always given the most dangerous position.— Curtis, 6, 16.

According to our information many of the braves were married men and in their prime.

[A] [See Category 116, p. 366--Analyst]

societies was in full function at the time of this separation. It should be 101
noted, however, that the greater part of the following information was ob- [561]
tained among the South Piegan and is made the basis for the discussion of [575]
the data from other divisions.

THE PIGEONS.

This society is composed of eight officers, an indefinite number of mem- 561
bers, and thirteen or more special functionaries, as follows:— 575

- The leader (1)
- The assistant leader (1)
- The bear shirts (2)
- The yellow pigeons (4)
- The pigeons (x)
- Old men comrades (4)
- Single men comrades (4)
- The drummers (4)
- Women members (1)

The leader wears an eagle tail-feather tied on the back of his head and 561
carries a bullet-shaped rattle, painted red with a feather on the end. His 575
face and body are painted red. He clothes himself in ordinary costume; 796
that is, robe, breech cloth, and leggings but does not wear a weasel-tail or [237]
hair-lock suit. He carries a quiver of buffalo calfskin in which are four
arrows and a bow. These he never takes out in the ceremony. [302]

The assistant leader may dress like his superior but also has as his dis- [534]
tinctive regalia, a skin of a coyote. According to some informants he carries
a bow and arrow which, however, he does not use during the dance. He [292]
carries a rattle, but not the whistle. His face and body are painted with [411]
yellow and red, that is, a yellow ground with a red bar across the mouth and
eyes. In the dances these two leaders do not leave their places, simply [531]
rising and dancing where they sit.

The pair known as bear shirts have duplicate regalia. They wear belts [237]
of bearskin about eight inches wide on which are seven bands of red cloth
and a bear tail. Their shirts and moccasins are made from the smoked tops [292]
of worn-out tipis. The shirts are slit and cut in rows. The latter are U- [531]
shaped cuts so that the loose ends hang down. The edges are fringed.
There are arm bands of bearskin, each with a claw attached. The moccasins
are heavily fringed around the edges of the soles and the ankles (Fig. 1).
The legs are bare. The body is painted red and marked down with the finger [302]
tips. The face bears the bear sign, black marks down over the eyes and at
the mouth corners. The hair on the forehead is cut short and combed
straight up. They carry a bow and four arrows, two of which have blunt [411]
points.

The four yellow pigeons wear no clothes except the breech cloth and [292]

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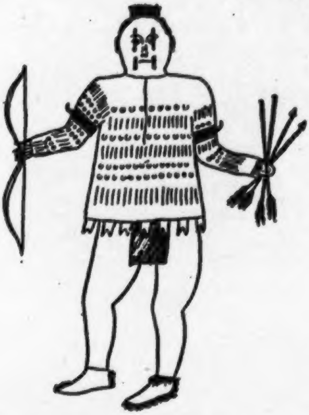

Fig. 1. Regalia of a Bear Shirt in the Pigeon Society. The wide belt of bearskin is not visible. From a sketch by Big-brave.

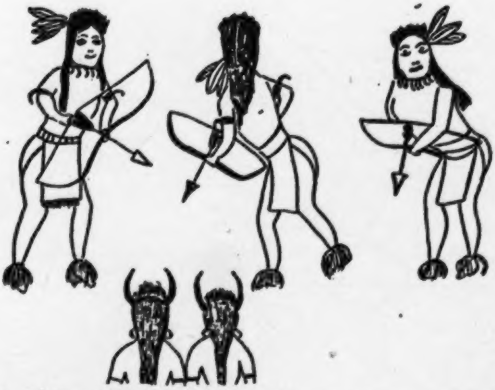

Fig. 2. Regalia of the Yellow Pigeons. There are four of these in the society, of which three are shown in the sketch. Drawn by a Piegan.

moccasins. Their bodies are painted yellow, even the hair. Some say they 561
were marked down with the finger. They did not have the red marks on 575
their faces like the leaders. They carried bows and arrows and wore eagle 796
tail-feathers on their heads. Their special functions seem to have been to [411]
serve the food at the ceremonial feast, to act as messengers or sergeants-at-
arms. On the back of their heads they wore eagle tail-feathers painted red [292]
(Fig. 2). [302]

The rank and file, or the pigeons proper, are not permitted to wear [237]
clothes, except as for the yellow pigeons. Should anyone come to the dance
tipi and refuse to go in the others would set upon him and tear his clothes off.
Their entire bodies are painted red. They carry bows and arrows, painted
red.

The four old men members enter the ceremony in regular daily dress. [302]
They carry nothing with them. As a rule, they paint their faces red. [888]
These men are taken in because of their experience in ceremonial procedure
and as one expressed it, "always to have some members who could count [887]
war deeds." They make all formal announcements, harangue the camp
when required in the interests of the pigeons, advise the members, adjust
disputes, etc. When the society sells out they tend to go with them in the
same capacity; thus they are truly old men comrades.

The four single men comrades are in this case very young boys, all the pigeons proper being unmarried men. They are taken in by their brothers or other relatives, already members, and may dance in their stead while they remain seated. These men paint and dress as the other members. Their designation is, of course, borrowed from societies of older men in which the members proper are of marriageable age.

The four drummers each has a drum in his hands. They are charged [534]
with directing the singing and during the dancing remain seated and drum
and sing. There seems to be some difference of opinion as to whether it is
proper to use drums or to beat a rawhide. Usually when singing and danc-
ing, members keep time by beating upon their bows with an arrow. Some
informants claim that this was the only kind of accompaniment used. The
best informant, however, seemed to favor the use of four drums.

There was one woman attached to this organization. We were told that, "she had no particular function, but was taken in as a member and danced with the rest." This will be better understood after reading the accounts of other societies.

The dance ceremony of this society takes place out-of-doors, the members [535]
arranging themselves as indicated in the sketch, Fig. 3. The opening in
the circle is toward the east. The four yellow pigeons sit on the north side
of this opening, while the bear shirts sit facing it some fifty feet distant.

561 The two leaders sit at the west side, while toward the center, facing east, are
● 575 the drummers. When all are in place the leader gives a signal, the drum-
796 mers make four passes with the drumsticks and strike once, upon which
all in unison give the call of the pigeon. (Some of our phonograph records
show this to be highly realistic.) This is repeated four times. Then the
songs of their ritual are begun.

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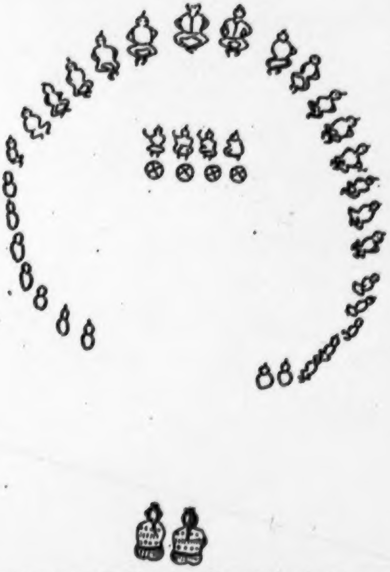

Fig. 3. Sketch showing the Position of the Pigeon Society in a Ceremony. Drawn by a Piegan.

An informant says that at the beginning of the ceremony everybody is
seated, all singing and beating time on their bows with their arrows, the two
[237] bear shirts as well. This pair, unlike their representatives in some other
societies, do not rest their bows and arrows on buffalo chips and sage grass.
[535] In the dance the bear shirts and the yellow pigeons do not dance around sun-
wise, but in the opposite direction and around the other members, bunched
up in the middle. It seems that the bear shirts give the signal for the danc-

ing by rising in their seats. At this, the whole organization including the 561
leaders rises and dances. 575

Another informant says that during the dance all the pigeons dance 796
around in a circle the two leaders facing them. When the leaders turn and 535
dance with their backs toward the main body, this is a signal for the dance
to end. Then they dance toward their seats and when the leaders sit
down, they follow suit.

The society has three songs, one in which everyone joins, beating time [533]
on their bows with their arrows and the drummers on the edges of the drums
with their sticks. The other two songs are dance songs.

When they sit in their places and sing, the pigeons beat time by striking
arrows on their bows. At the proper moment all, except the bear shirts,
rise and dance in a circle, each with a drawn bow, the arrow pointed down-
ward. The four yellow pigeons dance in the center and as the ring of dancers
threatens to close in, they threaten them and pretend to drive them back
to their seats. Then after an interval of singing the two bear shirts take a
hand. On the ground before them rest their bows. They lean forward
holding their heads out like bears. As those in the circle rise to dance, the [237]
spectators throw buffalo chips at the bear shirts, at which they raise their
heads, holding their closed fists at their cheeks and growling like bears.
This is repeated once. They rise, take up their bows and dance into the
circle, driving the dancers back, then dance outside and drive them to the
middle again. This is repeated four times in all. When food is brought in
the bear shirts growl and take it; the others wait and eat what remains.
The signal for closing the ceremonies is given by this unique pair, they dis-
charging their blunt arrows at the sky.

The usual time for these ceremonies is early in the morning.

Maximilian does not mention the pigeons. This may have no signifi- 561
cance, for the society is regarded as of comparatively recent origin, the latest 575
historically.[1] So far as we know, any male may enter this organization by 796
purchasing the place and regalia of another; but it is considered a youths'
order. Such purchase may occur at any time, but the tendency is for the 432
whole organization to sell in a body to a new group of younger fellows. The
individual sellers and purchasers must be paired off; hence, it is not un-
usual for some members to hold over for want of a purchaser. This trans-
fer is a formal affair comparable to the transfer of medicine bundles. A [346]
shelter is made by combining two tipis, in which the organization assembles.
Each purchaser enters with a pipe, which he offers to individual sellers

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[1] Bear-skin, about 75 years old, says that he was a charter member of the pigeons in his [115]
eighteenth year. It was then originated by an old blind man, Ghost-boy, who dreamed it.
This would make the date about 1833. [787]

561 until it is taken and smoked. This act pairs them. A few old men, pre-
575 sumably former members, are called in to officiate, they having full charge
796 of the ceremony. The following narrative may be given as a type:—

432 When I went into this tipi I had a pipe full of tobacco. I offered it to a man by the name of Bear-head. I told him the reason for it. I wanted his rattle. He was assistant leader. He took the pipe from me, held the stem up in the direction of the sun and prayed. Then he lighted it and smoked. All those who went in with me did the same. When all had finished their smoke, Bear-head began to paint me and give me the rattle, etc.

The purchasers are instructed by the sellers and coached as long as necessary. For all such services fees are in order. Other societies are certain to challenge the pigeons to athletic, gambling, parade, and other contests in which each member is expected to do his utmost.

[578] After a dance they sometimes run about outside the camp, where they annoy the women carrying water by shooting through their buckets.

THE MOSQUITOES.

561 The organization of this society is similar to the preceding. It is as
575 follows:—

The leader (1)	The old men comrades (4)
The yellow mosquitoes (4)	The single men comrades (1-2)
The mosquitoes (x)	The drummers (4)

561 The leader wears an eagle tail-feather on the head. His face and body
575 are painted red with a black band across at the level of the bridge of the nose.
796 He wears a buffalo robe, hair side out.

[237] The four yellow mosquitoes are each painted yellow with a red band
across the nose. They wear feathers in the hair and robes, hair side out.
[302] On each wrist is tied an eagle claw, representing the mosquito's bill.

[292] The mosquitoes paint in red, wear plumes, but otherwise dress as the above four. The four drummers use half of a rawhide to beat upon.

[534] The old men comrades wear their ordinary clothes during the ceremony, blankets, leggings, etc. They have no special regalia.

The number of single men comrades is said to vary, sometimes being two and sometimes four. It was stated by an informant, that single men were taken in in this capacity by some of their relatives. Sometimes, older men it was said, are backward about dancing or taking part in the ceremonies whence they sometimes have one of their young relatives entered as a single man comrade. Thus the member can remain seated while his young representative dances in his place. Young boys may be taken in in this way.

The single men comrades dress and paint like the other members. Again, 561
the society itself may take in the son of a chief or other prominent man so 575
that they may receive food and other assistance from the family.

The dance ceremony opens with a parade in single file around the outside 796
of the camp circle, sun-wise. Having completed the circuit they proceed to 561
the center and sit in a circle. The four drummers sit in the middle before 575
their pieces of rawhide. 796

When dancing they move in single file, forming a circle. While doing 535
this the four yellow mosquitoes march in single file to one side, thus with the main body, forming two lines. At this time, there is neither singing nor dancing. The drummers do not march with them but proceed directly to the place they select for dancing where they seat themselves. Then the files approach and form a circle around the drummers, the leader at the head with two of the yellow mosquitoes on each side. The other members sit in the circle where they wish. At the end of each song they all squat down, with heads low, making a buzzing noise like mosquitoes. When seated they lean forward and draw their robes over their heads. After four dances they again circle the camp and scatter along the outside. Anyone falling in their way will be scratched with the eagle claw. They say, "Now, I shall get blood from you." Their rule is to do the opposite of their victims' appeals; thus, if asked to be let off, they will scratch brutally; if told to be severe, they touch lightly. If a man takes off his shirt and invites them to take their fill, he must not be touched; likewise, if a woman bares her arms. They must not invade tipis or the bounds of the camp circle.

The usual way is for the mosquitoes to sell out to the pigeons. A 561
shelter is made by combining two tipis. Some old men are invited to con- 575
duct the transfer, or selling out. This is conducted in a manner similar to 432
that for the pigeons.

Most of the members are single men, but being married is no bar to [346]
entrance. They usually marry before selling out for the simple reason that they are of proper age.[1]

THE BRAVES.

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575

The organization of this society is as follows:—

- Leader (1)
- Willow brave (1)
- White braves (4)
- Black braves (4)
- Bear braves (4)
- Braves (x)
- Old men comrades (4)
- Single men comrades (4)
- Drummers (4)

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[1] Maximilian, 110.

561 The leader carries a small bulb rattle, half painted red, half blue, a
● 575 feather attached to the end and a wristlet of otterskin. On the head he
796 wears a feather hanging down behind, painted red, the quill end wrapped
[534] with wire. He wears a buckskin suit with weasel or hair-lock fringes. The
[237] right half of his face is painted blue, the left red; black bands around the
wrists. He carries a short lance, Fig. 4.

[292] The one called willow brave ranks next to the leader. He carries a willow

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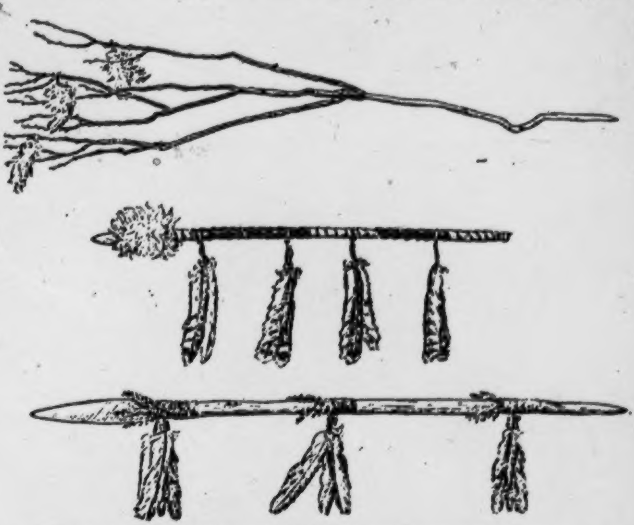

Fig. 4 a (50-5582), b (50-5573), c (50-6161). Standards used by the Braves: a The Willow Brave's Staff; b Lance for the Leader; c Lance of the White Braves.

561 The one called willo brave ranks next to the leader. He carries a willow
575 branch to the ends of which are tied yellow painted plumes. (Fig. 4.)
796 His robe has no hair, but is fully tanned.

The four white braves wear breech cloth and moccasins. Their bodies
[824] are painted white; under each eye four black marks and across the thighs,
[237] calves, and arms a pair of black marks. Around the ankles, neck, and head
[292] are wreaths of four sage stalks each. Their robes have no hair, have the
corners fastened up and a curious hole in the back reminding one of the
[302] Arapaho crazy-dance regalia. Eagle feathers are carried only by the white
braves, the braves proper using hawk feathers. All wear robes but when

they rise to dance they leave them at their seats. They carry lances, 561
painted white and decorated with four pairs of feathers and bunches of sage 575
grass. (Fig. 4.) The ordinary bone whistle with quill-wrapped neck cord 796
should be added.

The old men comrades wear their ordinary clothing and are without [292]
regalia of any kind. Their functions are similar to those of the preceding [411]
societies and while they have no particular costume at the time of the ceremony,
they use the painting of the lay members. [237]

Single men comrades vary in number from one to four and are taken in
as described in the preceding, both as substitute dancers and in order that [324]
food may be obtained.

The four black braves carry lances covered with black cloth and decorated [534]
with black feathers. Their bodies are painted black. Their costume [411]
is similar to that of the preceding. On their backs they wear a bladder
or pericardium painted black and distended by air; this is called a water [302]
pail. [237]

The two bear braves are similar to a pair noted in the pigeon society.
They cut the front hair and paint it. The costume is also the same. Here,
they wear robes with the hair on. On the head, they tie a bunch of prairie-chicken [237]
feathers. They carry bows instead of lances (Fig. 5).

The braves wear neither shirts nor leggings. They paint with dark red [302]
paint with black marks, as noted for the white braves. Their lances are [292]
painted red.

No drums are used by this society, but time is kept by beating upon one [411]
piece of rawhide. According to one informant, the drummers are "ex- [533]
members in ordinary costume." [534]

In the ceremony an open circle is formed with the four drummers in the
center. The leader sits opposite the opening and facing him on the outside, 561
the two bear braves. The white braves sit on the outside. (Fig. 6.) When 575
at rest the braves stick their lances in the ground points down; the white 796
braves hold theirs with points up. The leader directs the dance. He blows 535
his whistle a certain way as a signal, then rises. All those bearing lances [534]
rise, dropping their robes. Leaning forward with the points of their lances
near the ground, they dance. The step is a slow alternate lifting of the
feet. The leader's position is fixed, the others dance facing the four directions.
The white braves on the outside dance in with threatening lances
and crowd the braves toward the center, passing entirely round and round.
The black braves have black blankets which they wear during the dance,
but dance as the others. Willow brave dresses like the lay members but
sits next to the leader.

The two bear braves sit quietly as in the pigeons until aroused by the [237]

561 throwing of buffalo chips. They then dance into the center; holding both
● 575 feet together and keeping a squatting position, they hop along with drawn
796 bows, driving the dancers back to their seats.

535 These evolutions are given four times then the bear braves shoot into
[237] the air and all throwing their robes over their left shoulders pass single file
out of the southwest side of the camp circle, march entirely around it,
then run to the north a mile or more. When they stop, they take off their

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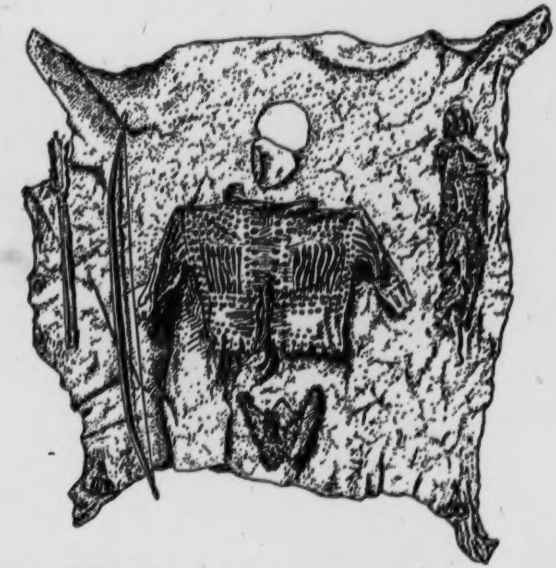

Fig. 5 (50-5581, 5578, 5576, 5577, 5732). Regalia of a Bear Brave: A Robe with a Hole; a Belt of Bearskin with a Bear Tail attached; a Shirt and Moccasins curiously Gashed and Fringed; a Bow and Four Arrows.

561 moccasins and throw them up into the air. Then they line up and march
575 back, barefoot, holding the lances up before and singing. They pass around
796 the camp circle and enter their tipi, sticking the lances up at the back.

[535] This ceremony always occurs in the open air. When they dance in
their tipi at night, the affair is social and hence, different.

[346] At times the ceremony was held in a tipi pitched inside the camp circle

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

formed by combining several covers. The members of the society did not 561
live in this tipi or stay there so far as we could learn. At other times they 575
may make a practice of regularly meeting at the tipi of a member, frequently 796
that of willow brave, where they dance and hold other ceremonies as may be [346]
desired. At the close of each ceremony they return to their own homes, however.

When food is brought out for the dance feast, it is set down by the willow brave. Then the bear braves come forward, growling, but as they are about to eat, the black braves croak like ravens. Then they retreat, but return to eat. When they have finished, the others eat. At any time the bear braves may meet the returning hunters and take what they choose. They go out 561
accompanied by two braves, bearing a tipi pole, upon which the meat they 575
seize is strung. [796]

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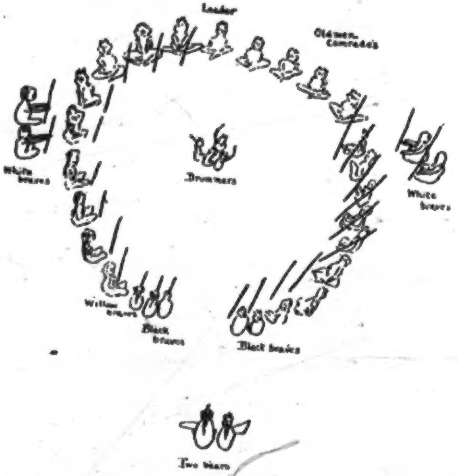

Fig. 6. Sketch showing the Positions of the Braves in a Ceremony. Drawn by a Piegan.

The mosquitoes usually buy into this society, though anyone may so
join. The majority are married men and probably range in age from twenty [432]
to thirty years. Grinnell considers these warriors of the first class; but on this point we have no data save that they are to be distinguished from the foregoing societies as married men. It was said that after marriage a man

561 usually sold out his place in the mosquitoes. They transfer to the all-brave-
575 dogs, all at the same time.

796 Regarding the casting off of moccasins, one informant says this running
[432] out was to look for buffalo and that when they were sighted the braves
threw away their old moccasins and put on new ones. He narrated that once when so doing, the braves were surprised by enemies: the leader seeing the case hopeless, gave orders to dance, when they formed the circle and began. After watching them for a time the enemy seemed impressed with their medicine powers and retired.

[114] Maximilian does not name the braves, yet they must have existed at that time. However, his account of the "soldiers" leads us to suspect that he confused them with the catchers for he says: —

> They are the most distinguished warriors, who exercise the police, especially in the camp and on the march; in public deliberations they have the casting vote, whether, for instance, they shall hunt, change their abode, make war, or conclude peace, etc. They carry as their badge a wooden club, the breadth of the hand, with hoofs of the buffalo cow hanging to the handle. They are sometimes forty or fifty men in number. Their wives, when they dance the medicine dance, are painted in the same manner as the men.[1]

THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS.

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575 The organization of this society is as follows:—

Leader (1)
Assistant leaders — horsemen (2)
Bear-all-brave-dogs (2)
All-brave-dogs (20)
Old men comrades (4)
Single men comrades (2)
Drummers (4)

561 The leader wears a coyote skin with his head thrust through a slit in its
575 middle and in addition the best costume he can get, such as weasel-tail,
796 hair-lock suits, and war-bonnet. He always wears his blanket across his
[292] left arm and carries his rattle in his right hand. He paints his nose, mouth,
and chin red which is spoken of as the coyote painting.

[237] Ranking next to the leader are the mounted men. For the ceremonies
[302] they secure the finest horses possible and also the best suits including, if
[237] possible, the war-bonnet with a tail. The horses are painted on the hips,
neck, and face with symbols indicating the war deeds of the rider.

[534] The two bear-all-brave-dogs are now familiar characters. They are
[411] the only ones with bows and arrows. They wear a peculiar headdress
[292]
[237]
[531]

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[1] Maximilian, 117.

(Fig. 7), consisting of a narrow strip of skin with bear ears and two small 561
horns (bear claws) attached. At the top, the hair is arranged to suggest 575
the cropped hair of the analogous pair in the pigeons. They wear shirts 796
made of white cloth which reach the waist, are fringed around the bottom [292]
and have short sleeves with long fringes. On the forearm, just below the [237]

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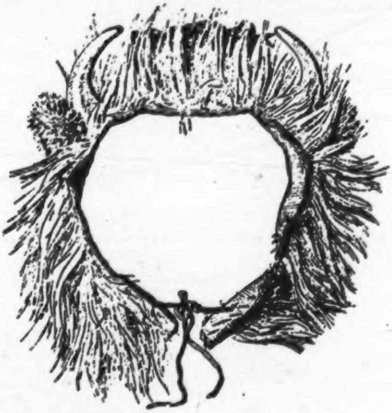

Fig. 7 (50-5730). Headdress for a Bear-all-brave-dog.

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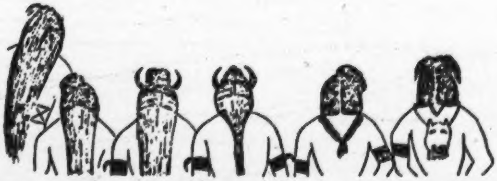

Fig. 8. Sketch showing the Costumes of the All-brave-dogs: the Leader on the Right, the two Bears in the Middle. Drawn by a Piegan.

sleeve, a narrow strip of bearskin with a bear claw attached is worn. The 561
shirt is painted red on each shoulder. A beaded belt, breech cloth, mocca- 575
sins, a belt full of cartridges and a knife, make up the costume. For paint- 796
ing they use the bear-face, that is, red ground with black marks down from [292]

[531]
[237]
[411]
[302]

561 575 the eyes and corners of the mouth. When at home, each keeps his ceremonial bow and arrows tied up near the door of the tipi.

[796] [302] [431] In former times if at any time the bears saw any one coming in with meat, they would intercept him. The bearer of the meat would dismount and stand by quietly while the bears helped themselves to the best cuts, sometimes taking all. It is said that if the owner of the meat sees them in time he may himself give them, horse, gun, meat, and all; the bears take the presents home and afterwards announce to the society that presents have been received. In the course of time the giver of these presents will receive liberal return from the various members.

561 575 264 There seems to be some kind of a taboo for the bears as to passing food at a feast. Thus, it is said that if the chief or head man should have guests in his tipi and there is among them one of the bears who still owns his membership, the woman must pass the food to each man and not permit it to be passed on from hand to hand as is the usual custom. She must do this because the bear is not permitted to pass food or to take any notice of a request to do so. If the presence of the bear should not be known and food be passed in the usual manner, the bear will take no notice of the dish. However, should he be asked to pass the food he will take possession of it and eat it all himself without speaking a word. So it is the duty of the hostess to note the presence of one of these bears and to act accordingly. An informant says, "These bears are always after grub. They even go to meet the hunters to take their meat." While, as indicated before, the bears have the privilege of taking meat whenever they desire it, this is never done in the absence of the owner, that is, they are not permitted to enter a vacant tipi and help themselves to what may be found there.

561 575 796 535 [292] The four drummers have no particular costume but wear their blankets tied around their waists hanging down so as to leave their arms free. In the procession they are in the rear. In this procession the members form in line by two's, the leader at the head. They dance entirely around the camp. Every now and then the dancers turn and face the drummers at the rear, dancing backward and forward. As they move about the camp they may stop and dance in front of certain tipis. Here the usual procedure is to form a circle with one of the bears on each side of the "door." (Fig. 9.) The drummers always sit at the head, the leader next to them on the north. The mounted men are next in order, one on each side.

There are no women attached to the society as in those previously mentioned, but as the members are all supposed to be married men it is expected that their wives appear at the formal ceremonies to assist in the singing. They have no particular costume or painting, each one following her own taste. An informant recalls one case in which a man made a vow that when married his wife should dance in his place during the ceremonies of the

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

all-brave-dogs. This is the only case known in which such substitution 561
was offered or in which the woman became a member of the same standing 575
as the single men comrades. When the society is marching around the
camp the women may follow in the rear and may sit behind their husbands 796
during other parts of the ceremony. It seems, however, that a woman may 535
rise and dance with her husband at certain parts of the ceremony, if she so desires, and may even take his rattle in her hand and perform evolutions with it. This seems quite likely, since similar practices are found in the rituals of various medicine bundles (Volume 7).

[532]

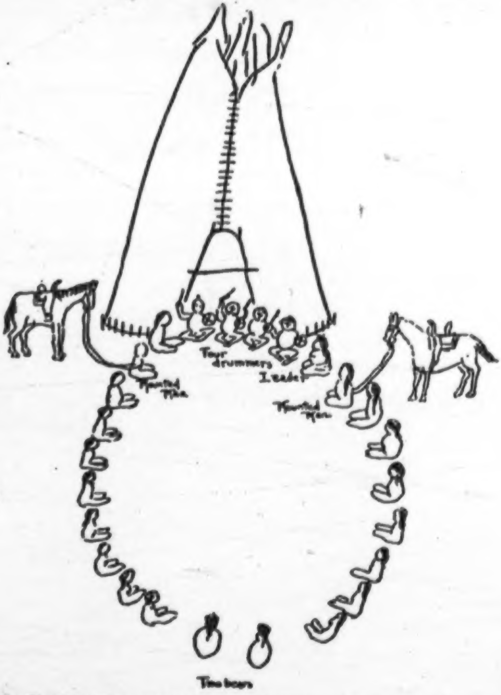

Fig. 9. Sketch showing the Formation of the All-brave-dogs before the Tipi of a Head Man. Drawn by a Piegan.

575 The owner of the tipi in which the society usually meets, who is also
561 one of the members, keeps a pipe and tobacco ready for use in the ceremonies.
[276] There is no special form of pipe, neither are there any peculiar
[554] smoking customs pertaining to this society. This individual does not buy
his place by the regular transfer nor is he recognized as having any particular
official status. Nevertheless, it is said that no matter where the
ceremony is performed, this individual is expected to provide the pipe and
care for it.

The lay members in this society are spoken of as the all-brave-dogs and
are limited to twenty individuals. Some informants, however, deny that
[424] there was any special number. Later on it will be shown that each lay
[432] member purchased a particular rattle and since the rattles were, of course,
of a definite number, the membership was limited thereby. The lay members
[292] have no costume of any kind, but carry their blankets over their left
[237] arms and their rattles in their right hands. On the back of the head each
wears a feather.

[534] An interesting point is that the face painting is determined by the painting
upon the rattle as shown in Fig. 10. The rattles vary greatly in their
[531] painting. Each individual therefore, paints his face according to the
[302] painting upon the rattle he owns. No one now living recalls any symbolic
significance for the painting on the rattles other than that it furnishes the
copy for face painting. There is no special myth accounting for their origin.
[796] When the paint rubs off or it becomes necessary to repaint the rattle, the
former owner of it must be called upon to perform this service. He will
count war deeds and perform other ceremonies after which he paints the
[787] rattle. For this he must receive liberal fees. It was said that the person
who first "dreamed the society" directed that the rattles be painted in this
way.

[887] The old men comrades are expected to give advice in the conduct of the
various ceremonies, one of whom is expected to act as a herald and to ride
[203] about the camps calling the society together whenever a meeting is desired.
[534] These men have no particular costume, but each has a rattle, and may wear
a feather at the back of his head.

[292] The single men comrades are required to perform certain services such
[237] as gathering food and receiving presents. Each has a rattle according to
which he paints and otherwise dresses according to his taste. The society
[556] usually elects the sons of prominent families, since they not only have fine
costumes, but since their relatives are apt to make liberal presents to the
society.

[796] A tipi for the society's ceremonies is set up inside the camp circle. This
[535] is usually the tipi of one of the bear-all-brave-dogs, though other members

could be chosen for this service. Here the society meets. The formal 561
dance is out-of-doors where the men sit in a circle (Fig. 9). 575

When they dance, they rise in their places. The mounted men ride 796
around, forcing the dancers to the center. Then they pretend to ride them 535
down, upon which dancers who have dismounted enemies, seize them by the
feet and gently unhorse them. Then the two riders join in the dance.
This is done but once.

They seem to have some ceremonies in their tipi. They have a number 561
of songs. In one they say, "It is bad to live to be an old man." The latter 575
means that to die in battle is preferred. At the end of each song, they shake 796
their rattles above their heads and shout. Four drums are used. 533
[539]

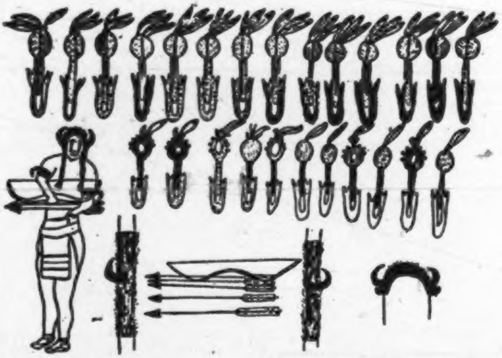

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Fig. 10. Sketch showing the Regalia of the All-brave-dogs: the Twenty-five Types of Rattles and the Equipment of a Bear. The original is in colors: blue (vertical lines), green (right oblique), red (left oblique), and black. Drawn by Hairy-coat.

They are not credited with pranks, but after a dance may go about the 561
camps and dance before tipis until the owners give them food or other 575
presents. To refuse or to delay such bequests would be unwise. Yet [431]
they do not maltreat those they meet, and offer no violence except when
on regular guard duty.

The members usually buy in from the braves. Since all the rattles are 561
supposed to be different, the transfer really consists of the purchase of a 575
particular rattle which is regarded as a ceremonial object or bundle as de- 432
scribed in Vol. 7. While it is usual for the entire society to sell out at the 424
same time, our informants state that nevertheless a rattle may be purchased
[778]

561 at any time. Thus, one may approach a member of the society with a
575 filled pipe. When he takes this and smokes, the offer to purchase the
432 membership is made and cannot be refused. The transfer ceremony is
424 then performed and the purchaser becomes, by virtue of his ownership,
a member of the society. It is said that now and then a man becomes tired of his membership and solicits a purchaser to whom he transfers his rattle. These were regarded, however, as unusual since the rule is for the whole society to sell out at once.

561 Maximilian does not distinguish this society. Some Piegan assert that
575 it was introduced by the Gros Ventre about 170 years ago and that these in
174 turn got it from the "Black Indians"(?). On the other hand, no society
of this character has been reported for the Gros Ventre. We have so far encountered no Blackfoot origin myth for it. The preceding societies have definite myths and are believed to have appeared first to the Blackfoot. This is curious, since they seem more recent than the all-brave-dogs and yet bear an obvious resemblance to it.

THE FRONT-TAILS.

561 Our informants are not agreed as to a formal leader for this society, but
575 there seems to have been a leading pair at least. Its organization may be
given as follows:—

Leaders (2)
Front-tails (x)
Old men comrades (?)
Single men comrades (?)
Pipe keeper (1)
Drummers (4)
Women members (?)

561 The front-tails do not braid the hair but allow it to hang free. An eagle
575 tail-feather, trimmed with quills and small bells, is tied on the head crosswise.
796 Narrow garters of otterskin, decorated with quills and bearing bells, adorn
[302] the legs. The chief regalia, from which they take their name, are belts, or
scarfs. On the right side of the belt is an appendage, formed by wrapping a
[237] stick one hand long with the skins of two buffalo tails. This was bound
[292] around the middle with red cloth and some beading of large white and blue
beads. To one end is attached a fringe of buckskin, weasel fur, and red
[531] cloth, with bells at the ends. This is the "buffalo tail seen from the front."
The ends of the sash hang down on the left side (Fig. 11).

[302] The entire body is painted black and marked down with the fingers.
Small dots of white are made on the joints, the cheeks, forehead, and chin. Across the eyes is a band of red and again across the mouth.

Drums are used, but no whistles. 561

The faces of the women members are painted like those of the men. 575

The formal ceremonies were usually held early in the morning, "Because 796
the buffalo get up early in the morning and go down to drink." Out-of-doors
they sit in a circle, each man's wife, or corresponding woman member, sits 535
directly behind him. The men dance in pairs, holding hands with the free [534]
hand on the hip. (Fig. 12.) All the pairs face the same way, except the [825]
leaders. The latter always keep in the reverse direction. The dancing is

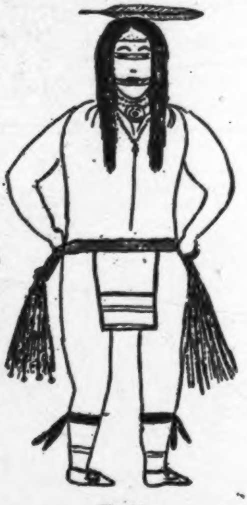

Fig. 11.

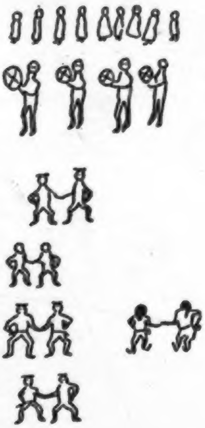

Fig. 12.

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Fig. 11. Sketch showing the Costume of a Front-tail.
Fig. 12. Order of Dancing for the Front-tails. Drawn by Big-brave.

said to be in imitation of the buffalo. The four drummers come behind 561
with the women, who assist in the singing. After a dance, they rest and 575
smoke; this is repeated four times. When they are about to begin, the 796
drummers strike four times and at each all shout, "Ho-o-o-o!" Before 535
each rest there is one shout. It will be noted that the members carry
nothing in their hands.

The transfer of membership is well described in Mr. Duvall's notes 561
obtained from Big-brave:— 575

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432

561 575 796 432 [424] [114] [115] [346] At the age of eighteen, Big-brave, joined his first society, the front-tails. As a rule each society takes as members four young men and four older men. Big-brave was taken in as one of the younger members. To begin with, all the men who were to buy in, went through the camps and invited their chums and when all were gathered together, they proceeded to the center where two tipi covers were combined to make one large tipi. Upon entering the lodge all the men who were about to become members had filled pipes, which they offered to those of the old members from whom they had chosen to buy. All the members of the front-tails are supposed to have women partners, usually their wives; but as Big-brave did not have a wife, he went with his mother.

[237] [824] Each purchaser sat down near the man from whom he expected to purchase. The buyers cleared the grass in front of the old members and placed some buffalo dung and sage grass on the side nearest the old members. The smudge place was about a foot square. All the new men made a smudge place near the old members. Sweetgrass was used for the smudge. The knives or axes which were used in clearing the smudge places were a part of the fee paid the old members.

The old (ex-)members did not transfer their outfits to the new members themselves, but still older members did this. The pipes were offered first to the members, to make the bargain to purchase from them.

[302] [292] [237] [531] Big-brave sat near one of the members and offered him a pipe to smoke. At first he refused to take the pipe, but finally he took and smoked it. Big-brave thought that the man was afraid he would not get a horse from him as he had just received one the day before, therefore his hesitation. Then Big-brave made the smudge place and the transferrer asked him to remove his clothes. When he had done so, the transferrer painted his face and entire body black and scratched the paint down with his fingers. The mother's face was also painted. A streak of red was painted across his eyes and mouth and small dots of white on his cheeks, forehead, and chin and on all his joints. His new clothes were first passed over the smudge four times, and then given to him to put on. The transferrer then took up the otterskin which is used as a garter strap, spat on it four times, passed it four times to the smudge place, and before tying it around Big-brave's leg, recounted four war deeds. The strap was a narrow strip of skin decorated with small bells and quill work.

[824] [778] During the entire ceremony, the transferrer had a piece of prairie turnip in his mouth, and before fastening anything on Big-brave spat four times on it. This is the same kind of turnip as that used by the horns in their ceremony. It is said to be very sacred.

[292] [237] [531] Then the transferrer took the feather which was used as a headdress, spat on it four times, made four passes over the smudge with it, recounted four more war deeds, and fastened it crosswise on Big-brave's head. The feather is an eagle tail-feather, wrapped with colored quills and has a hole in the middle through which is passed a buckskin string with which the feather is fastened on the hair. Then he took the belt of the front-tails, held it to the smudge place four times, spat on it four times, told of four war deeds, made four passes with his knife and cut off a few inches of the tail. After this he fastened the belt around Big-brave's waist and as he did so all cheered him. The tail of the belt hung on the right side. A blanket was also given him and a digging-stick was placed near Big-brave's feet. As he rose and stood by it his foot was held by the transferrer and passed four times to the smudge; then he stepped over the digging stick, going forward twice and backward twice. A dog was brought in and placed before his feet and he stepped over it four times.

All the new members went through the same actions as Big-brave and each 561
transferrer related four war deeds before fastening the trappings upon the new member.
Big-brave paid a horse and some blankets as a fee for buying into this society. 575●

When Big-brave and all the other new members were dressed and painted and 796
had stepped over the digging-stick and the dogs, they all stood up in their places with 432
their wives and mothers or women partners. The drummers struck their drums
once; all shouted, and then the drums were again struck. After the fourth time [534]
the members sang and danced in their places inside of the tipi. At first they danced [535]
facing the center, then facing the wall, then the center, and then the back. Each
new member was given a drink of water by the old members' wives, the new members
paying for their drinks with blankets, guns, or a horse. After this they all sat outside
of the tipi in a circle and danced as before. After the dance, all returned to
their homes.

Big-brave says that that evening the one who transferred to him, came to his [264]
tipi and a smudge was made. As Big-brave was to eat, the transferrer took a small
piece of the meat, spat four times on it and after making four passes to the smudge
with the meat, placed it in Big-brave's mouth, thus giving him the privilege of
eating his food.

The next day all the new members and some of the transferrers went out on a [224]
hunt. When they had killed a buffalo, the transferrer showed them how the backbone
was broken and the buffalo tail cut off. Thus they were granted the privilege [424]
of cutting off the buffalo tail or butchering and cutting the backbone in two when
they wished to do so. This completed the transfer ceremony.

During the dances and when they are seated in a circle outside the tipi, their wives sit at their backs. During the butchering ceremony the new members had to pay a fee, which consisted usually of arrows or other small articles.

In passing, it may be said that the detailed features of this transfer are common to many serious ceremonies of this kind, a discussion of which will be found in Vol. 7.

We have recorded the origin myths for this society. A version will be 561
found in Vol. 2, 112. In one not published we find the same story with 575
some variation. It opens as follows:— 539

There was once a young single man who always carried a stick around with him, like a gun rod. On the end of this stick was a small leather cross which was called the butterfly. One day, when the buffalo went over the drive and were milling around in the enclosure, the young man happened to be standing by and poked his stick under the tail of a buffalo cow. When he drew his stick out, he saw that the leather cross had come off. The cow jumped over the fence and ran away.

Otherwise, the narrative is similar to the version cited. Our informants 561
have a conviction that the ceremony was originated by an Assiniboine who
saw buffalo dancing. They recalled that some visiting Assiniboine once 575
marched about their camp, singing the front-tail songs to the surprise of all. 173

THE RAVEN-BEARERS.

561 The organization consists of:—

575 Leader (1)	Raven-bearers (40 to 100)
Assistant leader (1)	Pipe keeper (1)
Black-raven-bearers (1)	Drummers (4)

561 The leader carries a long red stick, trimmed with a strip of red cloth, to
575 which feathers are fastened. His head is thrust through a slit in the back of
796 a coyote skin. The head of the coyote is still attached. For a headdress he
[292] wears a single tail-feather. His face bears the coyote painting (p. 398).A
There is no special costume, he usually wears his best clothes. According
[237] to one informant the leader is said to have worn about his neck the
[531] skin of a raven. One was collected on the Blood Reserve (Fig. 13). The
[302] wings have been decorated with strips of porcupine quill work and from the
beak hangs a strip of red flannel, probably to represent the tongue. We were
[532] also given a peculiar necklace made of imitation bear's claws carved from buffalo horn. This was also stated to have been worn by the leader. Other informants claim that the bird was worn only by the black-raven. According to White-man, the leader wore a coyote skin around the neck with pendant feathers in bunches, consisting of six eagle feathers and one crow feather each. The end of the crow feather was cut square. A rattle was also carried by the leader.

[531] The assistant leader carried a staff similar to that borne by members,
[302] except that it was entirely red. Otherwise his costume was similar to that of the leader, except that in painting he wore a red band across the eyes and one across the mouth.

[531] The black-raven-bearer has a staff trimmed with black cloth, but fringed
[237] with human hair. According to most informants he paints his face over with red (though some maintain blue), marking down with the tips of the fingers
[302] and dotting the forehead and cheeks with white spots to represent the raven's excrement.

[531] The raven-bearers carry sticks trimmed with alternating pieces of black and red cloth (Fig. 14), bearing feathers and bells.[1] They paint their faces
[302] red with a pair of small white spots on the forehead, cheeks, and chin.

For the ceremony they sit in a circle with their sticks on end. As songs
[535] are sung, they shake them to sound the bells. When dancing they carry their robes on their left arms and hold their sticks up in front, inclined forward. The drummers stand, as for the front-tails.

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[1] Maximilian, German ed., 578, gives a drawing of this emblem.

A. [See Category 116, p. 398--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 395]

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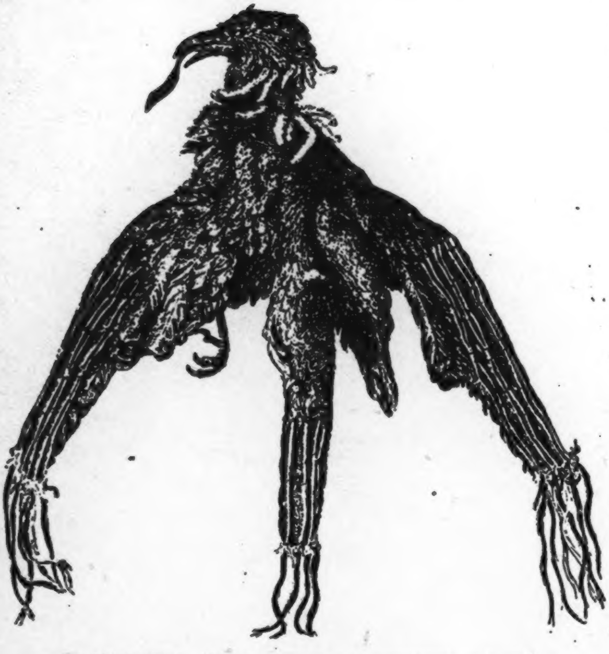

Fig. 13 (50-5419a). Skin of a Raven worn by one of the Raven-bearers.

[p. 393]

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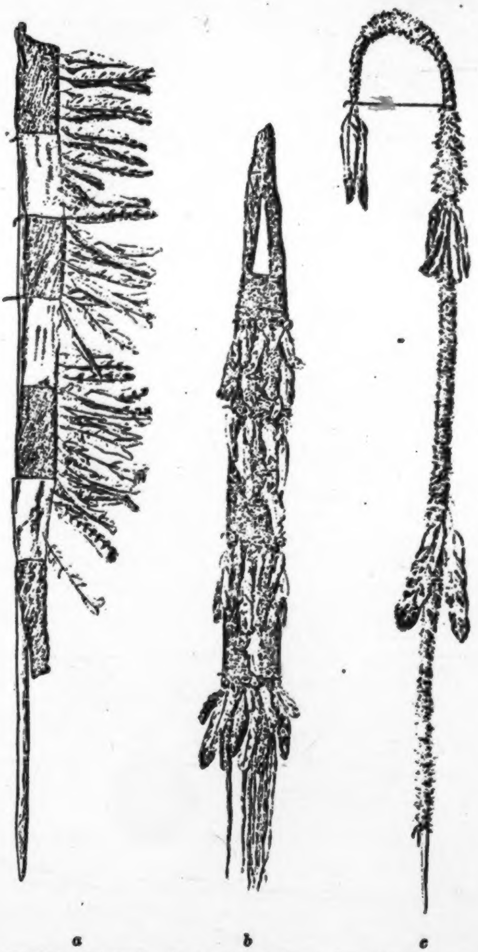

Fig. 14 (50-5411, 5728, 5726). Emblems of the Raven-bearer, the Dog, and the Kit-fox Societies, respectively. Length of a, 283 cm.

THE DOGS.

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The organization is as follows:—

The Black-Dog (1)
Assistant Leader (1)
The Black-dancers (2)
The Dogs (40)
Old men comrades (2)
Single men comrades (3–4)
Pipe keeper (1)

The leader or black-dog wears a long black cloth sash with trailing hair 561
fringes that reach to the ground (Fig. 14). He wears a bonnet covered 575
with owl feathers and bearing an appendage about four fingers wide, made 796
from smoky tipi covers and lined with red cloth. It is decorated here and [292]
there with feathers.

[237]
According to Brocky, an informant, there is some confusion among the
Piegan as to the regalia for the leader of this organization. According to [631]
him there is an assistant leader who wears the bonnet covered with owl [184]
feathers instead of the leader. There is also a difference of opinion as to
whether there was an assistant leader, some maintaining that the society
had but one leader, known as the black-dog.

The dogs each wear a long sash similar to that of the leader, except that [292]
it is lined with alternating sections of red and black cloth and has feathers [531]
instead of the hair fringes. They also wear bonnets similar to those de-
scribed above (Fig. 15). They may, if they choose, wear buckskin suits [231]
or any other costume. They carry rattles or sticks about two feet long, [534]
fringed with deer hoofs and with feathers on the end (Fig. 16). The
dance of this society is performed out-of-doors. They sit in a circle while 561
the black-dog sits some distance apart. The tail of his sash is picketed to 575
the ground by an arrow. The ritual requires that he remain seated until 796
the arrow is withdrawn. As soon as he is released, he joins the circle and the 535
dance begins. It seems to have been the custom to dance in front of a tipi, [431]
the owner of which was required to release the picketed dancer. His doing
this, however, obligated him to make a gift of a horse. In this way the
society passed about the camp circle, collecting gifts until they were satisfied.
According to some informants, when the dance begins, the leader goes about
the circle and seizing the sashes of the members pulls them to their feet.

Members of this society also have the privilege of taking food whenever they choose. They go about among the tipis, imitating dogs and taking whatever they wish.

The members of the raven-bearers usually buy into the dogs, although 561
as in other cases a man may join at any time. In former times in the trans- 575
fer ceremony, it is said, the black-dog remained dancing in his place until he 796
432
[173]

561 was released by the one purchasing his place. However, before the pur-
575 chaser could draw the arrow and release him, he must pledge his daughter
796 as a wife to the black-dog or if he had no daughter, must furnish him with a
wife. We were told that this custom originated from the following incident.
432 Once when the transfer ceremony was under way and the black-dog was
173 still pinned to the ground, they were suddenly attacked by Crow Indians.
582 All of the dancers ran away except the man who was pinned fast and who
by obligation was obliged to stand fast. Being a brave man he danced in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 397]

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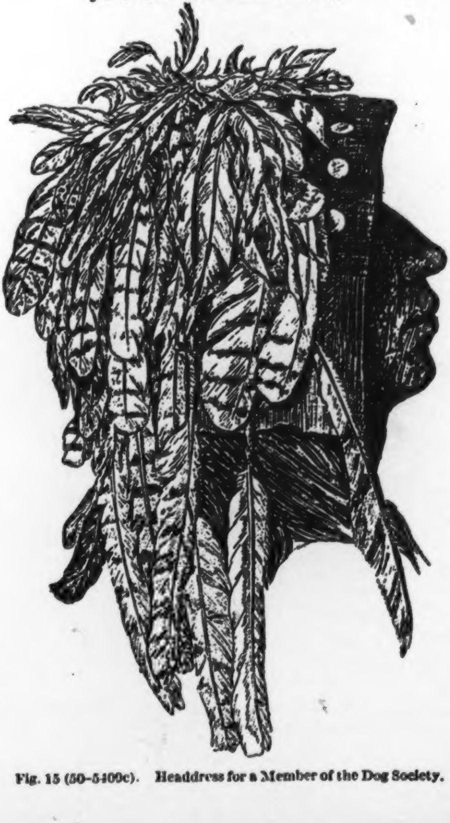

Fig. 15 (50-5400c). Headdress for a Member of the Dog Society.

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his place. A woman observing his predicament ran back, pulled up the 796
arrow and whipped him, thus enabling him to run away. It is said that 432
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582

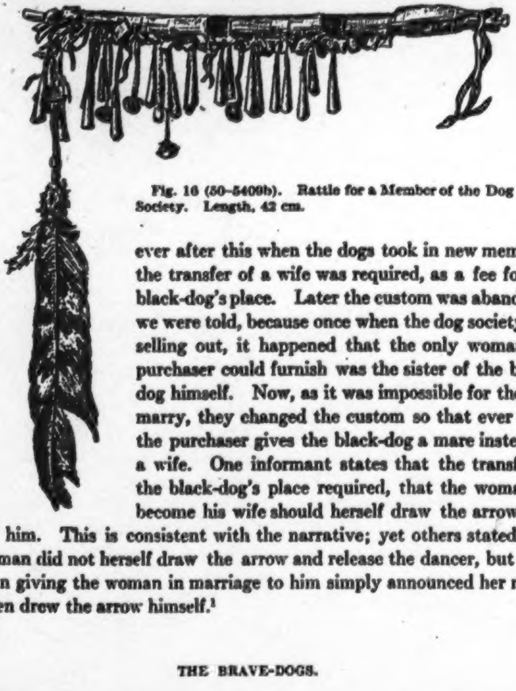

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Fig. 16 (50-5409b). Rattle for a Member of the Dog Society. Length, 42 cm.

ever after this when the dogs took in new members, 561
the transfer of a wife was required, as a fee for the 575
black-dog's place. Later the custom was abandoned 796
we were told, because once when the dog society was 432
selling out, it happened that the only woman the 173
purchaser could furnish was the sister of the black- 582
dog himself. Now, as it was impossible for them to marry, they changed the custom so that ever since the purchaser gives the black-dog a mare instead of a wife. One informant states that the transfer of the black-dog's place required, that the woman to become his wife should herself draw the arrow and release him. This is consistent with the narrative; yet others stated that the woman did not herself draw the arrow and release the dancer, but that the man giving the woman in marriage to him simply announced her name and then drew the arrow himself.[1]

THE BRAVE-DOGS.

The brave-dogs (motsomita) were sometimes spoken of as the coyote- 561
brave-dogs. The society, if society it can be called, consists of two indi- 575
viduals and seems to have been in no wise related to either the dogs or the 124
all-brave-dogs. Our informants held different opinions as to the right of the brave-dogs to a place in the list of societies. Some maintain that they were not a society in any sense of the word, but others are equally positive that they had a place here and that in rank they followed the dogs. In

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[1] See also Curtis, 6, 26.

561 support of this they call attention to the fact that this pair dance around
575 through the camp at the same time and in the same manner as the other
124 societies.

Their regalia consist of a small bulb rattle to the handle of which is
561 attached a coyote tail and a bunch of feathers for the head. No eagle
575 feathers were used. Bone whistles and a coyote skin around the neck com-
796 plete the list. Big-brave, the present owner of one set also has a drum.
[534] This drum seems to be a special medicine object and to be used only by and
in connection with the ceremonies by a brave-dog. Our informants state,
[237] however, that this drum was originated by Big-brave and was not pre-
[292] viously a part of the regalia for the brave-dogs and is not recognized or used
[778] by the other member.

The brave-dogs usually paint the entire body in white. The face is
[302] given the "coyote painting." The entire lower part of the face is painted
red. This painting was sometimes spoken of as "eating raw meat." In
[825] explanation, it is said that when a coyote has been eating, his mouth and nose
are generally red with blood, and that also he is lucky and usually gets his
meat whenever he looks for it.

561 The obligations taken on by the brave-dogs are rather exacting. They
575 must never under any circumstances run away from the enemy or turn
726 back. If enemies appear in their paths, they must walk straight forward
regardless of the consequences. In battle they are supposed to stand in
front of the enemy and dance and sing. However, if their companions
desire to save them they may release them from the obligation by whipping.
Thus in fighting, a friend may ride up and strike the brave-dog with a whip
and at once he runs away. For example we were told that,

> Running-buffalo, the father of Elk-horn was a brave-dog. Once there was a fight between the Blackfoot and the Assiniboine in what is now the southern part of the Montana Reservation. The Assiniboine were in a hole and hard to get at. Running-buffalo rode up, got off his horse, and with his rattle in his hand, singing the brave-dog songs, went directly to the hole and jumped in among the Assiniboine. His war party followed close at his heels and succeeded in routing the enemy. All brave-dogs are believed to have great power. Once Running-buffalo was shot through the abdomen with three or four arrows. He asked that some buffalo intestines be cooked for him, saying that he would use them to replace the injured parts of his body. He ate them and recovered.

561 Like all other societies and medicines, the brave-dogs had their own songs
575 and their dance. The sentiments expressed in the songs are in keeping with
539 their obligations. For example one of them runs, "I want to throw my
body away." Another "I want dogs to eat my body." They have a song
in which they ask for arrows, and while singing it they go into any tipi and
take an arrow from each quiver they find therein.

While anyone could buy a place in the brave-dogs, it seems usual for 561
men to buy in after having passed through the dogs. At the time of the 575
transfer ceremony the purchaser is required to sleep out in the brush four [432]
nights in imitation of dogs or coyotes.

The following statement of Big-brave may be of interest:— [424]

> All those men known as brave-dogs were very brave men. They used to dance around the circle of camps and enter a man's tipi and would take one of his arrows, but if a man did not want them to take any of his arrows, he would go out, meet them and whip them away. Then they would turn away at once. In their songs they say "I want dogs to eat my body," meaning that they are not afraid to die. When approaching the battlefield they use their rattles, sing their songs, blow their bone whistles and stand fast, unless they are whipped back by some of their people.

According to some informants the owners of the brave-dog ritual were
younger than the dogs, the former being about forty years of age. But, [432]
on the other hand, it was stated that anyone could become a brave-dog in
the usual manner, that is, if he took a filled pipe and called upon one of the [424]
owners with an offer to purchase. When the man took the pipe and smoked
it, the transfer took place.

THE KIT-FOX.

Kit-fox was the name of an extinct Piegan society still regarded as very
powerful and dangerous to speak of. Thus Grinnell writes, "Of all the socie-
ties of the I-kun-uh-Kah-tsi, the Sin-o-pah, or Kit-fox band, has the strong-
est medicine. This corresponds to the Horns society among the Bloods. [194]
They are the same band with different names. They have certain peculiar
secret and sacred ceremonies, not to be described here."[1] In the main it [114]
is correct to regard the horns and kit-fox as one organization, but on the
other hand our informants report some important differences to be enumer-
ated later. A brief paragraph on the kit-fox is given by Curtis.[2] We pre- [173]
viously gave a version of the origin myth in which occurs the following pas-
sage. "She had no dress on, but just a robe around her. She wore a plume
on her head, and held a prairie-turnip in her mouth."[3] The full import of
this will be made clear in our account of the horns.

Owing to reluctance of informants, we were unable to obtain a concise 561
account of the kit-fox organization. The main leader wore the entire skin 575
of a kit-fox, with the head before and the tail behind. Around the neck 796
and legs of the fox skin were strands of beads. Small bells were tied to the
feet. Four eagle tail-feathers were stuck up on the top and one at the tip [292]

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[1] Grinnell, 222. [237]

[2] Curtis, 6, 26. [531]

[3] Vol. 2, 121.

561 of the tail. The whole skin was liberally daubed with the "seventh paint."
575 Brass buttons formed the eyes of the fox. This leader also carried a bow
796 and arrows, thoroughly coated with the same red pigment. His body was
[292] also painted red, a blue band around each wrist and a band of blue around
[237] the face, but of a different form from that used by the horns.

There was a second, or associate leader, wearing a similar headdress and
[531] bearing a bow. His person and regalia were, however, painted over with
[302] yellow with corresponding marks in red. He is called the yellow fox.

Next in rank were two mounted men, spoken of as the single men com-
[411] rades. They carried hooked lances about ten feet long, wrapped for almost
[237] their entire length with otterskin. At four equally spaced places they had
wrappings of goose skin with a pair of eagle feathers. The curved portion
[531] of the lance is formed by a twig, bowed and held by a sinew cord. To the
end of this bow are fastened two eagle feathers (Fig. 14).A The butt of
the lance is sharpened for planting in the ground. These men wore weasel
skins around the heels of their moccasins. One informant states that one
of the pair rode a black horse.

[411] Of the next order, was one man bearing a hooked lance of much greater
[237] length than the others and wrapped with swan skin, having four places
covered with otterskin and bearing feathers as just described. This was
[531] called the white lance.

[411] The lay members carried curved lances, but these were not wrapped.
[237] They, however, bore feathers as just described. One informant claims
that a few of these lances were painted white. Each member had a small
[531] pipe painted red (p. 413).B They could paint in blue, red, or yellow, but
[276] must each use the same mark around the face. They were required to be
[302] fully clothed in all ceremonies, but could wear any costume at hand. Their
moccasins were, however, without strings and always contained a sprig of
[292] sage.

[276] According to one informant the society had three large ceremonial pipes,
or perhaps three large pipes in contrast to the small ones used by other
[124] members; but we have never heard of special ceremonial pipes for this
society, as for the catchers.

[346] For the ceremonies a shelter was made by setting up a circle of tripods
supporting horizontal tipi poles. Tipi covers were then stretched round the
sides. When dancing in public they formed a three quarter circle with the
opening toward the rising sun. Inside near the rear were four drummers.
The two horsemen sat one on each side of the opening in the line. The
[535] lances were planted in the ground before their various owners. The public
ceremony was opened by the drummers, who made four feints with their
sticks, then struck the drums and gave the characteristic yell, upon which

A. [See Category 116, p. 394--Analyst]

B. [See Category 116--Analyst]

the songs began and the members rose to dance. There seems to have been 561
no special form of dance, but at times they crowded into a mass, at others 575
formed in files and again in half circles. They always held their lances at a 796
forward angle. The rule was to dance at various intervals as the camp was
circled. The two riders mounted and crossed back and forth in front of the 535
leaders to reverse them (p. 412).A When the procession again reached the
starting point the two riders dismounted and joined in the final dance.

The following account of this public ceremony is from McClintock:—

> When the kit-foxes gave a dance, they opened up two large lodges and made [346]
> them into one. For four days and four nights they sat inside, painting and dressing
> themselves, singing and making ready for the dance, only appearing at night, outside
> of the dance lodge. On the fifth day they marched through the camp. Their chief [272]
> wore the fox-skin, with the head made into the form of a hood. The nose was in
> front, the ears on the top and the skin, with bells fastened to the tail, hung down his [237]
> back. The face of the leader was painted green, to look as frightful as possible and [302]
> inspire the spectators with awe. The second in rank, called the White-circle-man,
> carried a spear, with one end bent into a circle. It had bells attached, and was [411]
> covered with white swan's down and white plumes. The third held a spear of the
> same shape, covered with white feathers, but fringed with black and red plumes. [531]
> The rest of the members carried pointed spears, covered with otter skins ornamented
> with feathers and bells. The kit-foxes all painted their faces. They wore, for
> garters around their legs, wide bands of otter skins, with bells attached, and an eagle
> feather, decorated with red, green and yellow, in their back hair. White weasel-skins
> were also attached to either end of this feather, while a strip of otter skin was
> suspended from its centre. When they marched through the camp they formed in
> the shape of a fox head. The chief went first standing for the nose. Behind him
> were the second and third men for the eyes, and then came the rest of the society in a
> group, all together representing a fox head. The two second-men, as the eyes,
> watched the chief, who was the nose, or leader, and acted just as he directed, the rest
> following after. When they were ready to dance, they sat in lines. In the first line
> were the regular members. If there were men withdrawing from the society, or
> giving their spears to new candidates, they sat in the second line, while the wives of
> the members sat behind. As soon as the drum began, the chief started the dance.
> The two circle men with the white spears followed. After them came the other
> members, with otter spears. They danced in pairs, — the same way that kit-foxes [825]
> run together. They gave short regular jumps with their feet close together, imitating
> the movements of a fox, barking and moving about, first in one direction, and then
> in another, just as a fox does. The two second-men (eyes) danced between the two
> lines, barking and swinging their spears. They did not move in straight lines, because
> the fox never goes straight. His tail always seems to guide him. When the
> white-circle men shouted, 'That is enough,' the dance ceased and they all seated
> themselves. After a short rest the dance was continued.[1]

Some of the songs run: "Fox says, four times I am going to run. Days [539]
are my medicine; they are powerful. Nights are my medicine; they are
powerful."

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[1] McClintock, 446-447.

A. [See Category 116--Analyst]

432 The ceremony within the enclosure is chiefly that of the transfer. A For
561 this four days and nights were required. The incoming members were
required to abstain from sleep during this entire period. During the night
575 they often paraded about the camps, occasionally shouting. A curious
796 thing is that during this period they are forbidden to scratch themselves
[784] with the fingers but are given scratching sticks. Should they use the fingers
they will become scabby and vermin-infested like the kit-fox. At no time
561 must fox hair be burned in a member's tipi and no rabbit meat cooked at his
575 fireplace. McClintock states that members were not permitted to kill or
[789] trap the kit-fox.[1] According to Grinnell, "if they were at war in summer
[825] and wanted a storm to come up, they would take some dirt and water and
rub it on the kit-fox skin, and this would cause a rain-storm to come up.
In winter, snow and dirt would be rubbed on the skin and this would bring
up a snow-storm."[2]

[302] Unlike the horns, the wives were not members; but they were painted by the former members in the manner described for the horns, to give them the power to care for and handle their husbands' regalia. We obtained no account of this ceremony, further than the belief that it was identical with that of the horn society (p. 410). The notion that the women were not members may, of course, be but a difference in point of view, since their functions in the kit-fox seem to have been about the same as in the horns.[3]

[173] In closing, it may be noted that we find a tradition that the kit-fox as here described was the result of an ancient union between two other societies. What these were, we did not learn. Big-brave says he saw the last kit-fox dance some fifty years ago, but that for many years several of the lances were kept and transferred as other bundles. The lances and headdress were often carried to war as individual war bundles. In former times, only members were permitted to touch the lances or any other part of the regalia.

THE CATCHERS.

The organization of this society is as follows:—

Leaders (2)	Catchers (x)
Pipe men (2)	Drummers (4)
Tomahawk men (2)	Women members (x)

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[1] McClintock, 416.

[2] Grinnell, 202.

[3] Bear-skin and Big-brave state that the horn and kit-fox societies were the same in most respects. Their lances were alike, the women were "painted" the same way, but what is more to the point, the kit-fox songs are sung in the horn ceremonies.

Maximilian (German ed. 577) notes both the kit-fox and the horns, giving the hooked staff as the emblem of the former and asserting that the latter wear "thin horns."

A. [See Category 116, p. 401--Analyst]

The two leaders carry bows and arrows painted red. These arrows seem 561
to have been regarded as medicine since it was believed they never missed 575
their mark. They were therefore a very important war medicine. [411]

The two leaders paint the face all over with dark red paint and draw a
black mark from the forehead down across the nose and a black circle entirely [778]
around the face. They wear a plain buckskin suit, without weasel-tails or [302]
hair fringes, but painted all over with red paint. One informant claims that [292]
the leaders painted their faces in a different manner, the forehead, sides, and
chin being red with two pairs of oblique lines extending in toward the nose. [531]

The two pipe men were in reality the keepers of medicine-pipes. Though [124]
the society has long ceased to exist, the pipes are still cared for and their
rituals occasionally demonstrated. Wolf-tail and Split-ears are the present 796
owners of these pipes. The transfer ceremony for them is similar to that 432
of other medicine-pipes although they are known as catcher's pipes. The 276
pipes themselves are different and their rituals contain some of the regular 778
medicine-pipe songs. Among the other songs are those of the catchers
society and the iniskim (buffalo rock). [561]

The pipe ceremony was described as follows:— [575]

> First a smudge is made, the owner holding up some sweetgrass above his head and
> singing. The words of the song are, "That which is above, it is powerful." Then [539]
> he brings the sweetgrass down and lays it on the fire, at the same time the song runs,
> "This, the earth, it is powerful." After the smudge is made the owner of the pipe [539]
> and his wife both hold their hands in the smoke and then over the pipe bundle, then
> make four passes and untie the strings. The buffalo rocks are then taken out and
> placed in a row in front of the open pipe bundle. The owner takes up the pipe,
> holding it in his arms as if it were a baby. At this time they sing the iniskim songs, [539]
> the words of which are: "A hundred buffalo I have fallen (caused to go over the
> drive)." All this time the man is holding the pipe in his arms and praying to it.
> Then he lays the pipe down and has his face painted with a red and black circle [302]
> around it and a black streak across the forehead, nose, and chin. Then they sing
> the dance songs of the catchers. The owner gets up with the pipe and dances, [535]
> everybody in the tipi being required to dance with him. All stand in their places and
> dance, first to the southeast, then face the north, then the southeast, and then the
> north. Then the man hands the pipe to the one next him and this man dances twice
> towards the south and twice towards the north, while all the others dance in turn as
> he does. Then this man turns the pipe over to the next person and all dance as before,
> until the pipe has passed entirely around the circle, every man, woman, and child
> present being required to dance with it. Four drums are used and the dancers shout [534]
> and make all the noise they can. When all have danced with the pipe, it is handed
> back to the owner and he lays it down. This closes the ceremony and the bundle is
> tied up.

The purchaser of the catchers pipe makes the sweat house for the owner and on entering with him, presents him with a pipe of tobacco with a formal

796 request for the transfer of the catchers pipe. He must also give the owner
432 a horse at this time. The next day the transfer ceremony begins, requiring
276 four days. Each day the bundle is opened and the ceremony just described
778 performed. At present the purchaser is required to pay ten head of horses,
blankets, clothing, etc., but in olden times, five head of horses were all they
[435] paid. (Vol. 7, 159.) An informant states that the two catchers pipes were
formerly quite peculiar and did not resemble the other pipes. Now, however, the rituals are much the same which he attributed to the fact that they had been transferred many times and that each owner tended to add or modify the ritual according to some vision or dream.

561 The tomahawk men dressed in plain painted buckskin suits, but wore
575 buffalo robes with beadwork at the two upper corners to which tie-strings
[292] were attached. In the middle of the robe was a large beaded cross. The
function of the tomahawk men is to stop fighting or other boisterous conduct
[531] in the camps. It is said that they are always certain to turn up whenever
[625] there is trouble around.

According to one informant, the tomahawk men carried symbolic axes
[532] or hatchets carved out of wood while the members carried clubs covered
[411] with buckskin fringes and white beads, with buffalo and deer hoofs at the
ends of the fringes to serve as rattles. In Maximilian's account of the
[237] leaders we find the following:—"They carry as their badge a wooden club
[531] the breadth of a hand with hoofs of the buffalo cow hanging to the handle."
(117.) All the members wore buckskin suits and robes.

[796] In the formal ceremony they sit in a circle with four drummers in the
middle. After the dance they go about the camp and tear up the robes of anyone they chance to meet. In the dance the pipe men dance first. As in most other societies the dance is repeated four times.

[625] When the catchers are sent in pursuit of a delinquent or misbehaving
tribesman, he may escape them provided he can get into a position in which none of the members overcame an enemy. Thus, if he wades into the water on foot, he cannot be touched except by such members as have overcome an enemy in the water on foot. If he rides into the water he must be taken by a member who has dismounted an enemy in the water, etc.

THE BULL SOCIETY.

The oldest one of the series and the highest in rank is the bull society. It has been many years since the last ceremony and scarcely anyone alive now even saw their dance. Fortunately, the peculiar belief about war-bonnets discussed elsewhere (Vol. 7, 110) tended to preserve the ritual.

Our chief specific information was obtained from two informants whose 561
narrative we give in substance. 575

According to Red-plume the bull society originated in a dream: — [173]

A man once dreamed that he was invited to a ceremony. He felt that the persons dancing there were transformed buffalo bulls. One of them said to him, "We invited you here to show how to do this ceremony. We shall give (transfer) it to you." So the dreamer watched and noted all. Then he went home. A long time after this dream he called the people together and told them the story. He asked them to help him start the society. They agreed and so the bull society began.

The leader of the society wore a straight-up bonnet with a tail also bearing feathers. 561
The latter are spoken of as "boss ribs."[1] This seems to be the same general 575
type as used by the horn society.

Two members were known as the scabby bulls. They wore headdresses made 796
from the horns and hairy skin of the buffalo; also robes with the hairy side out. Their
position in the dance was at the end of the line, or something like the bears in the [292]
brave society.

There were two young unmarried men members. They wore caps of otterskin [237]
with a few erect eagle tail-feathers behind and before.

The lay members seem to have been of two classes; those wearing straight-up bonnets and those wearing horn bonnets.

In the dance they formed two abreast, the leader at the head and the scabby 561
bulls at the rear. The two young members occupied outlying positions on the 575
flanks. They sat in this position in the open before they danced. The four drummers
were stationed some distance in the rear. Their first formation was always 796
some distance outside of the camp circle. After they had lined up, they waited until 535
a horseman performed a curious ceremony.[2] As he set out he carried some robes
and other valuable property. He acted as if the bull society were real buffalo, being
careful to keep away from the wind until he had the line between him and the camp.
Then he dismounted and kindled a fire with buffalo chips. All this time the men in [372]
line were on their knees making dancing motions with their bodies, accompanied by the drummers and singers. As soon as the smoke rose, the men in the line turned to look at it. The rider mounted, shouted, and rode toward them. At this, the bulls started forward on a trot, while the musicians followed, singing and drumming. The horsemen rode along on the flank. When he shouted, all stopped and looked at him. Then he threw down one of the presents he carried and shouted as before. At this the line started on again. This was done four times.

Then the rider drove them to a watering place. As the dancers neared the water, he dismounted and standing to one side of the line took up four stones. Then he counted four war deeds and gave a horse to some one (not a member). Then he threw a stone into the water at which the bulls ran back. The bulls again approached and were again frightened. At the fifth attempt, they drank.

After this they proceeded to the camp circle where they formed in a circle and danced like the other societies.

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[1] Vol. 7, 114.

[2] Curtis, Vol. 6, 28, says this was a young man. Our informant says he must be a very distinguished man and wealthy and not likely to be young. [114]

561 The bull society became extinct because of a curious belief. The originator
575 warned them that if a dancer fell, he would soon die. It so happened once that two
[787] dancers fell and died very soon thereafter. So the people ruled to omit the ceremonies.

[173] All the war-bonnet bundles used now, came from the bull society and when
transferring them, the bull songs are rendered.

An old man named Boy says his father saw the bulls dance and handed down an account of them, as follows:—

561 They were the most ancient society. One of the leaders wore a robe hair side
575 out and a headdress made from the skin of a buffalo's head, with the horns polished.
292 The left horn was painted blue with a blue plume at the tip. The right horn was
painted white. The other leader wore a straight-up feather bonnet without a tail.
531 Weasel fringes hung from the sides. On the front was an arrow, about the length of
237 the forearm. This was fastened crosswise and with weasel fringes at each end of the
796 feathering. The arrow, the bonnet, and feathers were well daubed with red paint.
[411] As to the arrow, it is said that once in a fight with the Crow Indians the leader of the
bulls was wounded by an arrow so he symbolically painted the headdress red (blood
color) and tied an arrow upon it. He also wore a robe hair side out.[1]

[535] The dance formation for the society was two abreast. The two leaders were in the front rank, but just back of them was a single individual. He wore a straight-up feather bonnet painted red but without the arrow. On the left side of the bonnet band was a brass disc. Behind this man ranged the members two by two. At the rear sat a lone man known as a scabby bull. He wore a robe minus the hair in patches as the name indicates. On his head was the entire skin of an otter, forming a band with the head and tail behind. At the front and back are fans of eagle tail-feathers. Weasel tail fringes hang down at the sides and the back. The band of otterskin is about six fingers wide. On the left side is a brass disc about four inches in diameter mounted on a larger disc of rawhide with fringes of weasel fur. The edges of the rawhide disc are beaded.

The members wore robes with the hair side out and straight-up bonnets with tail pieces and erect feathers. These are called "boss rib" bonnets.

561 When dancing they snorted like buffalo, turning their heads from side to side,
575 but keeping in line. They also pretended to hook each other. Four drummers were
796 placed at the rear. On one flank was a rider supposed to be driving the buffalo to
the pound or to water. Now and then he shouted and dropped a blanket, four in all.
535 These represented the piles of rock forming the lines to a drive.[2]

The things thrown down were left for the poor and aged who collected them.
At the start the dancers moved slowly, then on a trot, and finally on a gallop like a
herd of buffalo when pursued. The rider drove them to a watering place, but threw
[411] a stone in to scare them back as they pretended to drink. At last he fired a gun and
threw it away for the poor. This ended the dance.

At other times, the musicians built fires of buffalo dung. When the bulls smelled the smoke they danced off in another direction. Again, the society sat in a circle and danced like the braves.

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[114] [1] Curtis, Vol. 6, 28, says a pointless arrow was worn but our informant is positive that the arrow had a metal point, in short, a real arrow.

[2] Vol. 5, 35.

All the war-bonnets we now have came from the bulls and in transferring the same 561
the songs of this society are sung. 575

The importance of this society may justify the full presentation of still [173]
another account by Big-brave:—

When Big-brave's father was quite a young man he saw the bull society. The 561
following is his account of it as told by Big-brave.
One morning the people moved their camp a short distance away, only the members 575
of the bull society remaining behind. When the camp was pitched an old man 796
called out, saying that someone must ride back and drive the bulls to the camps and
to the water. One of the chief warriors taking some blankets with him rode back on
a fine pinto horse to drive in the bulls.

The bulls all wore buffalo robes with the hair side out and painted with white 561
earth in spots to represent mud. Many wore horn bonnets while some wore buffalo 575
head wool bonnets which had small feathers fastened to them. One of the leaders 796 292 531 237 [532]
wore an otterskin cap with its edges decorated with bands of blue seed beads, while
at four sides were quill-wrapped feathers decorated with bits of weasel tails at their
tips. The width of the cap was two hands. Four pieces of some fungus growth
which is found on trees in the north were attached to this cap. The other leader wore [411]
a straight-up war-bonnet similar to those made nowadays with weasel tail fringe and
feathers, but with an arrow about the length of the forearm placed horizontally
across the front. It is called "the bonnet which was struck with an arrow" and
after the bull society was discontinued was used a great deal in war.

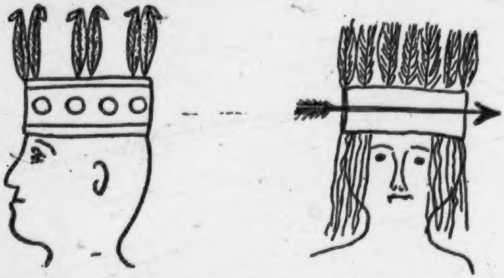

Fig. 17. Headdresses worn in the Bull Society. Drawn by Big-brave.

Two of the members were known as the scabby bulls. They wore robes that were either poorly dressed or with the hair partly worn off to represent scabby bulls. They usually followed behind the others.

When the man riding the pinto horse approached the place where the bulls were, 561
he made a fire a short distance from them on the leeward side. He started the 575
fire with a flint and steel. As soon as the smoke reached the bulls, they all looked 796
in the direction of the fire, the rider mounted his horse, shouted four times and the 535
bulls rose shaking themselves and pretending to hook one another. Finally, they [372]

561 575 796 started off slowly, repeatedly looking back at the rider while their wives brought up the rear. Four men drummed and sang for them as they marched in the direction of the camp. Some of the songs ran as follows: — "The ground is our medicine; it is powerful. The wind is our medicine. Man, I want to hook."

535 The messenger rode alongside the bulls and dropped a blanket in their path to head them off. These blankets were picked up by others who followed behind.

When they came near the camp the bulls were driven toward a lake and then another man was asked to splash the water for the bulls as they drank. The man who splashed the water was a chief. He took four buffalo dungs and counted four war deeds. While he counted, some of his kin threw down near him blankets and other valuables to honor him. These things were taken by the bystanders.

As the bulls began to drink he threw a buffalo chip into the water. This frightened the bulls and they turned back. Again, he threw in a buffalo chip and again the bulls turned back. This was repeated four times and then the bulls drank, ending their march to the water.

[787] During this march one of the scabby bulls fell. Not long after this he was picking berries with some women when he was attacked by the enemy and killed. It is said to be bad luck for one of the members to fall during the march or dance.

[173] Big-brave said that they usually dance after being watered but that his father did not see them dance. All the war-bonnets used nowadays are said to come from the bull society.

561 575 [114] While these accounts do not agree in all their details, they are in general accord. Bearing in mind that the last member of this society died many years ago, we are fortunate in receiving even these fragments. Curtis[1] denies that the bulls were a part of the regular series, but our informants were positive that they were. Since among neighboring tribes the bull society was one of the series and usually of the highest rank, we accept these statements as correct. We have also the testimony of Maximilian,[2] Grinnell, and McClintock in our favor.

In the account of the horns we noted Running-wolf's theory that the society had assimilated parts of the bull ritual. It will be noted that the headgear credited to the bulls is very much like some horn society regalia in contrast to that of the kit-fox.

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[1] Curtis, 6, 28.

[2] Stomick (die Bisonstiere, les gros boeufs). Sie bilden eigentlich den ersten, d. h. ausgezeichnetsten aller Vereine, und sind die ersten im Range. In der Hand tragen sie ein Medecine-Zeichen mit Bisonhufen behangen. Wenn sie bei ihrem, besonderen Gesange tanzen, so rasseln sie mit jenen Hufen. Um die Polizei zu handhaben sind sie zu alt; denn sie sind durch alle Vereine hindurch gegangen und man betrachtet sie als gleichsam im Ruhestande. In gewisser Art sind sie von dem Vereine der thätigen und angesehenen Soldaten schon wieder hinabgestiegen. Bei ihrem Medecine-Tanze tragen sie auf dem Kopfe eine Mütze von den langen Stirnhaaren und der Mähne des Bisonstiers, welche lang herabhängen. (Maximilian, German edition, 578–579.) A

A. [See p. 408-A for translation--Analyst]

561 [Stomick (the bison bulls, the big bulls). They really form
● 575 the first, i.e., the most distinguished of all the societies,
[654] and are the first in rank. In the hand they carry a medicine-
sign hung with bison-hoofs. If they dance with their own
[237] special songs, each one rattles these hoofs. They are too
old to handle the job of policing: for they have gone through
all the societies and are now considered on the retired list.
In a certain way, they have already come down again from the
[292] societies of active and respected soldiers. At their
[237] medicine-dances they wear on their heads a cap made from the
long forehead hair and mane of the bull bison, which is long
and flowing. (Maximilian, German edition, 578-579)--Analyst
translation]

BLOOD SOCIETIES.

As in the case of the Piegan, our Blood informants were definite and consistent 561
in the order and rank of these societies. Reference to the list (p. 575
366)[A] shows them parallel to the Piegan series except that the places of the 184
all-brave-dogs and the braves are interchanged. Then instead of the
front-tails we find the black-soldiers and for the kit-fox, the horns. Two
organizations are missing, giving the Blood division a smaller series.

The mosquitoes use tipi covers turned inside out to form the shelter for [346]
their transfer ceremony, but in all other respects resemble the Piegan
society.

Though boys of any age may enter the mosquitoes they must be of marriageable age, or young men before they are expected to join the all-brave-dogs. Our informants make no mention of the two bears, but credit the two leaders with a similar costume and the bearing of bows and arrows. Otherwise, the organization is similar to that of the Piegan.

As to the braves, all-brave-dogs, dogs, and raven-bearers, no important differences from the Piegan came to our knowledge.

BLACK-SOLDIERS.

Unfortunately, our information on this organization is meager. The 561
members were said to carry daggers, wear no clothing (except breech cloth 575
and moccasins) and to paint their bodies red. Around the ankles were 796
strips of coyote skin. There was also a cap or headdress, consisting of a 292
band of coyote skin with a pendant tip at the rear (see Vol. 7, 99). An 237
eagle feather is placed on each side of the cap, suggesting horns. 531

There are two leaders each wearing an entire coyote skin over the shoulders. [302]
Another important officer is the keeper of the pipe. In the ceremonies he rides a horse, holding the pipe and wearing the headdress, feathers, etc., making up the regalia of a regular pipe owner (see Vol. 7, 138). In the dance he rides into the circle and when dismounted (p. 387) joins in the dance.

When the camp circle is formed the pipe keeper pitches his tipi inside 561
the circle. If the society is called upon to render police service neither he 575
nor the two leaders take part in the forcible restrainment or punishment [625]
of offenders.

[A] [See Category 116--Analyst]

THE CATCHERS.

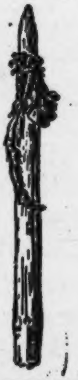

Fig. 18 (50-5410a). Club carried by the Catchers. Blood. Length, 68 cm.

561 The catchers have two pipes spoken of as the black-covered pipes (see
● 575 Vol. 7, 159) whose keepers are regarded as the lead-
796 ers. The members carried a curious club, spoken of
[411] as an ax (Fig. 18). It is nothing more than the broken
end of a tipi pole, painted red, and trimmed with a
[531] bunch of buffalo dew claws.

[237] According to one informant the pipestem is covered
with eagle plumes and four bunches of tail feathers.
[276] The owner wears wristlets bearing small iniskims (buf-
[292] falo rocks) and some human hair. On the head he
wears a fan-like bonnet of owl feathers to the top of
[531] which is fastened a small iniskim. With the pipe there
[237] is a buffalo chip enclosed in a pericardium. A specimen will be found in the collection (50-4534b). The pipes should rest on this when being smoked, but if such were not at hand an ordinary buffalo chip was substituted.

[302] The painting was described as a black hand across the mouth and chin.

[625] When acting as police the members cannot enter water to make an arrest in consequence of which one may escape by riding into a stream. The pipe keepers do not perform police service.

THE HORNS.

561 While the corresponding society among the Piegan has long been extinct
575 the horns still flourish among the Blood. There are many members among
[184] the North Blackfoot and the North Piegan and a few among the South
Piegan, but so far as we know, the ceremonies are rarely held except on the
[124] Blood Reserve. We never saw any of the ceremonies but collected some of
the regalia. It is the custom of the society to give a public ceremony at the
[126] sun dance and to offer their unwrapped hooked lances to the sun. We saw
[796] these still in place on the sun dance field (Fig. 19). Owing to the universal
[782] fear of this society and the secrecy of its ritual, we experienced some difficulty
[114] in securing information and specimens of regalia. The latter and all the general information was given the writer by various Blood Indians, but the secret part of the ceremony was obtained by Mr. Duvall from two informants whose narratives we present in full.

The following is the statement of a Blood woman who had herself taken part in the ceremonies:— 561 575

The members of the horn society are regarded as very powerful men and women. It is very dangerous even to talk about them and one must not tell what is done in the society; ill luck will surely befall him if he does. The ceremonies are secret. The power of members is so great that to wish anyone ill or dead is all that is needed to bring the realization. Among the Blood, the fear of the horn society is still so great that in court proceedings it is usual to take oath by them, that being the most solemn oath. Thus, a man will swear, "I will speak the truth by the horns." [784] [695]

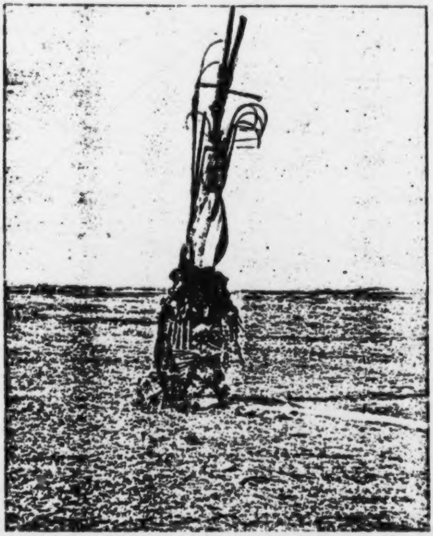

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Fig. 19. Photograph showing the Offerings of the Horn and Ma'toki Societies on the Sun Dance Field (1903).

Like other societies the rule is for all the members to sell, or transfer at the same time. This transfer usually takes place in the summer. Both men and women belong, usually husbands and wives, though the latter seem to have a minor part. 561 575

There are two male leaders. They wear similar regalia; weasel tail shirts and leggings with bonnets bearing horns and tails. One of these bonnets bears a small arrow, sticking straight out in front. (Fig. 20.) [292] [237]

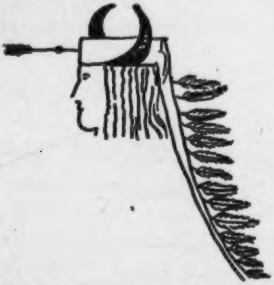
Next in rank are two men wearing "straight-up-bonnets." (One of these was [531] [796]

561 secured, Fig. 21.[A] It is of the head band type with a fringe of weasel tails.) Each
575 of these men carries a small bulb rattle with large wrist guard and streamers of ribbon
292 at the end. Their clothing is of no fixed form, but should be elegant.

237 Of lower position is a single man wearing a cap made of swan skin who also can
531 dress up to his means. His distinctive badge is a staff, or lance, about seven feet
796 long, painted yellow and sharpened at one end. To it is strung a strip of flannel in
[533] sections of black and white. In the ceremonies this lance is planted in front of its bearer and is spoken of as the "mighty lance."

There are two mounted men, one on a black horse, the other on a white one.
[411] They are spoken of as the "ones who ride back and forth." The one on the black horse wears a black suit and uses a black saddle. His face is painted red and he ties
[302] four owl tail feathers in his hair. The one on the white horse wears a weasel-tail suit and paints the face red. Sometimes he wears a white hat. Both men carry hooked lances about eight feet long. The one on the black horse carries an otter-wrapped lance with occasional bands of swan skin, while the rider of the white horse carries one wrapped with white swan skin with occasional trimmings of otter. Four eagle tail-feathers are strung on each.

[411]



[532] ← Fig. 20. A Headdress used by the Horn Society. Drawn by an Informant.

One of the lay members carries the entire skin of a running fisher, stuffed and with brass buttons for eyes. The other members carry hooked lances also wrapped with otter fur and trimmed with swan skin.

Four drums are used in the public dances which occur in the day time, in the open air about the center of the camp circle. The members sit in a three quarter
561 circle with the opening toward the east. At each end of the crescent is set up one
575 of the lances borne by the mounted pair. These are spoken of as the white and black
796 hooked lance respectively. The two leaders sit at the middle, or west part of the circle, and the two rattle bearers to their left. The so-called "mighty-lance" is set
535 up inside in front of the leaders. Those of the members are planted in front of their respective seats. The wives of the various members sit just behind, thus forming a second circle. The men rise and dance, holding their lances forward, dancing around in a circle to their right while the two rattle bearers move to the left. Though they keep moving in the same direction they face now to the rear, now to the front. The drummers keep their places in the center. The women remain seated also. The two horsemen do not use horses here. Also each member is free to paint as he elects. The public is permitted to gather and look on.

561 The transfer, or ceremony proper, is a secret affair. First an enclosure is made by
575 setting up tipi poles and stretching over them enough tipi covers to form a screen.
796 The old members are now to sell out entire and in secret elect their successors. A party then makes a round of the camp bringing in by force the men chosen, also their
432 wives.[1] As some of those chosen succeed in eluding their ceremonial captors, the
[346] hunt continues until the required number is secured.

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[1] For the forced transfer see Vol. 7, 156.

[A] [See Category 116. p. 414--Analyst]

The men are stripped to their breech cloth and moccasins and painted all over 561
with red paint by their ceremonial fathers and transferrers.[1] In the meantime, the
wives of the fathers and sons exchange clothes behind curtains held up by the wives 575
of the transferrers. The son's wife is then brought forward and given two suits of 796
clothing, one for the son (her husband) and one for the transferrer; she also takes the 432
lance and other regalia for the son. She goes to the entrance to the enclosure and
waits. Then the transferrer rises and followed by the son, walks slowly in a stooped [302]
position, and on reaching her each kisses her and receives the clothing in turn. The woman then takes the lance and other regalia to the rear of the enclosure where she plants the former and hangs up the latter. Then she and the two men take their seats, the latter dressing themselves in their new clothes. During all this the father keeps his seat. Each son, his wife, and the transferrer go through the above procedure in turn.

At the same time the son's friends bring in horses, blankets, and other property to pay the father. Here also the transaction for each individual is separate. This accomplished, the whole body enters a large tipi previously set up inside the camp circle where they sit and sing the songs for the sons, or new members.

After a time they emerge and march entirely around the camp circle, sun-wise. The two riders now use their horses. Four times they pause and dance, the signal is given by the two horsemen riding back and forth in front of the column. Having made the circuit, they proceed to the center of the camp where the mounted bearer of the black lance invites some one to come forward and recount four deeds with the lance. If the members present cannot do this, an outsider must be called in. Then they dance once again; after which the women take the lances and headdresses and dance with them.

In all dances the man with the arrow on his headdress leads.

After a time a herald goes about the camp ordering everybody to keep close [203]
indoors, for the secret ceremony of the horns is to take place. The new members
gather in a large tipi "to be painted by their fathers." The fathers, or the old
members remain in their own tipis, but the transferrers meet with the sons. The wife
of a son is directed to undress and cover herself with a robe. A small pipe is filled [276]
with tobacco. (One was obtained among the Blood, Fig. 22.) The woman extends
her hands under the robe and holds the pipe horizontally with the bowl on her right
side. She goes out and enters the tipi of her husband's ceremonial father, sits down
at his left and offers him the pipe. He takes it, holds it up, and prays; then lights
it and smokes. When burnt out, he refills it and hands it back to the woman. (The
woman has been instructed as to her part.) The father then leaves the tipi with the
woman. Once outside they walk slowly abreast, but some six feet apart. The
father watches closely for if the woman stumbles, he must turn back at once, leaving
her to return to her husband. When the two are out some distance the woman
again hands the pipe to the father. Again, he takes it and prays, but does not
smoke. The woman then reclines on her back with her feet together. Vestem [831]
mulier ita plicat ut genitalia sola aperta suit.[A] The father places a piece of prairie- [824]
turnip in his mouth and stands first at the woman's feet upon which he spits; then
at her right, then at the head, and finally at the left. The woman lies as if dead.

---

[1] In the transfer each individual sells to one other in the same fashion as with medicine bundles, Vol. 7, 272. The man selling out is the father to the purchaser, and there is a third man, or transferrer.

A. [See p. 416-A for a translation--Analyst]

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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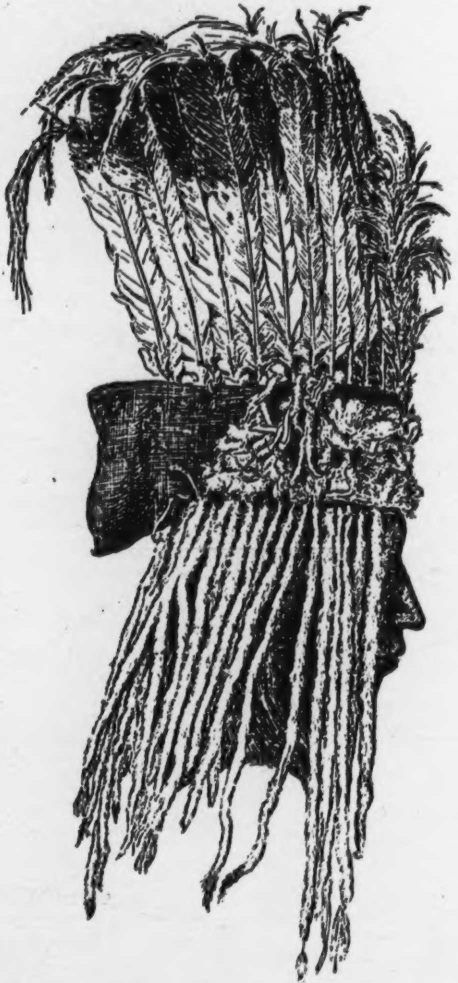

Fig. 21 (50-5100a). A Headdress worn in the Horn Society, one of two.

Pater ad mulieris pedes iterum accedit flectitque super eam. Tunc, manibus 561
suis in humeros muleris impositis, genua ad eius femora collocat et [A]facit sic ut mem- 575
brum suum visile vulvam eius attingat: quo facto (ad pedes) surgit.[A]

Now, the ceremony may end here at the option of the father. If not he goes again 796
to her feet. Primum in formana cornus digitum vir curvat: deinde, uno femore in 432
sinistram partem amoto, bisontis modo mugit; postremo, altero femore in dextram [831]
partem amoto mulierem futuere incipit.[B] As he does so the father spits into the
woman's mouth with the piece of turnip in his own. The father then returns to his [833]
tipi, while the woman holding the pipe as before goes to the door of the meeting place.
There she stands until someone comes out to see who is there. When her name is [824]
announced, the transferrer and her husband go to the door. She then enters, being careful not to touch the sides of the door. The transferrer kisses her, receiving the turnip into his mouth. He also takes the pipe still filled. Then her husband kisses her.

The transferrer asks if she has been properly painted, and she answers according to the completeness of the preceding ceremony. If the ceremony was complete, the pipe she carried is lighted and passed. The woman is put to bed, still covered with her robe, where she must lie quietly until the next day.

All the wives of members must go through with this during the same evening.

[276]

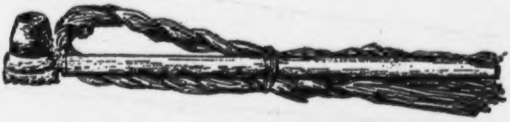

Fig. 22 (50-5401a). A Pipe used by a Blood Woman in the Transfer Ceremony, for the Horn Society. Length, 30 cm.

The next morning camp is moved. The women are taken up and placed upon
travois, the horses being led by their husbands. During all this time the women must [261]
fast and abstain from drink. They must be helped on and off the travois, etc. After
camp is pitched, the women each go to their fathers' tipis to be painted. He mixes [302]
up red and blue paints. The woman takes off her robe, but holds a corner over the pubes. The father smears her entire body with red paint. With the blue paint he marks a half moon on her breast. Then a circle on her back with either blue or yellow paint. On the crown of her head, he places some plumes. A blue circle is drawn around the face, a cross of the same on the left cheek and a dot on the right. (The men paint the same way.) A blue mark is made around each wrist and each ankle.

When painted the woman returns to her tipi, dresses, breaks her fast and resumes
her daily life. Should the father fail to complete the ceremony the woman's face is
painted differently. The left half is yellow and the right blue. On the yellow side [302]
is made a cross of blue, on the right a dot of yellow. Around the left wrist and ankle
is a yellow band, around the right a blue band. Thus all may know by the painting.

After this the father prays over some pemmican mixed with back fat and berries [252]
and gives it to the woman. She takes it home and distributes it to her relatives.

The mounted bearer of the white lance seems to be under obligations to complete
the ceremony. Mulier cum viro egreditur. Velut autra, sic mulier nunc decumbit; [833]

A, B [See p. 416-A for a translation--Analyst]

561
575 vir, autem pipam prope mulieris caput collocat, at, tunica eius alrepta, libidiui dat
796 laxas habenas.A Our informant states that this white lance owner is usually jealous
432 of his wife for obvious causes and is not likely to get on well with her.

[833]

561 The following is an extract from Mr. Duvall's notes:—

575 A—— is an old man about seventy-five years old and quite absent-minded so that
[114] his narrative is somewhat disconnected. Once during the talk the clock in my house began to strike. He paused and when it stopped, prayed to it for help in obtaining
[115] food.

This man is a Piegan but once married a Blood woman and lived with that division for a time. Thus he came to be taken into the horn society. He did not care to join, but one day a horn member came to his tipi, circled it, and then came in.
[784] He said that he had come to take me into the horns. "You cannot refuse for I have circled your tipi," he said. This meant that bad luck would be his portion, if he
[302] refused. Hence, our informant became a member. He was conducted to the meeting
[237] place and painted entire with the "seventh paint." A black circle was marked around his face. The women, by the way, wear seven plumes in their hair.

[784] It is very dangerous even to talk about the society. Once in a dance two members fell down; they died in a short time. Our informant once killed a buffalo by the
[789] power of the horns. In chasing a herd of buffalo, he began to fall behind. Then he rode back and forth across their trail four times, whipped the ground and shouted. Setting out again he saw a fat cow, down but still kicking. At another time he used
[754] the same formula to cause a rider's horse to fall. Again at a horse race between some Piegan and Flathead Indians, he spat four times upon a stone and placed it in the hoof print of the opposing racer, which soon became lame.

When a horn member wishes to kill a person, he sharpens one end of a small stick,
[784] paints it red, names the victim and casts the stick into the fire. Once when the horns were assembled, a man came in and denounced them vigorously. No one said anything in reply, but within four days the defamer took sick and died. Thus it is dangerous to speak evil of them. Even white men fear them.

561 Our informant's wife did not join the horns because she was blind. The society,
575 had both day and night ceremonies. The latter was spoken of as, "sending them out,"
796 the women being sent out to be painted by the retiring members. On the evening for this ceremony, orders are sent out for everybody to remain indoors as the horns
432 are about to send out their wives to be painted. The people fear them and obey:
[784] should anyone go out, he will meet with grave misfortune.

Once while the horns were marching around, they entered a tipi but the leader, seeing that he must pass in front of a medicine-pipe man, paused. The others told him to go on as the power of the horns was much greater. So they all passed in front of him.

In the painting ceremony the wives are usually sent out in charge of a third man
[431] to conduct them to the ceremonial father. This conductor is expected to make the woman fine presents; hence one seldom wants to perform this service, but does it only by compulsion. The woman will afterward treat her conductor in a familiar manner, she may sit by him and wait upon him, occasionally "scratch his head," and her husband can say nothing.

[302] In the painting ceremony the husbands are assembled in the meeting place and wait there while their wives are conducted to the respective fathers' tipis. The father

A. [See p. 416-A for a translation--Analyst]

000 [A very free translation has been made by HRAF of the passages in Latin on pages 413, 415 and 416. The translation has been complicated by apparent misprints in the Latin text and the use of words not found in any Latin dictionary available to the translator. Therefore, the researcher is advised to use these translations with extreme caution.]

561 Page 413.

575 The woman folds her clothing in such a manner that the genitals alone are uncovered.
796
432

[831] Page 415:

The father approaches the feet of the woman again and bends over them. Then, having placed his hands on the shoulders (?) [lumeros=humeros(?)] of the woman, he places his knees at her thighs and does thus so that he touches his male (?) [visile=virile(?)] member to her vulva: that done he gets up to his feet. [831]

[833] First, the man bends his fingers in the shape(?) [formana] of a horn: then, having moved one thigh over to the left side, he bellows like a bison; finally, having moved the other thigh to the right side, he commences to have carnal connection with the woman.

[833] The woman is marched out with the man. Just as (??) [autra], thus the woman now lies down; [416] the man, on the other hand, places the pipe(?) [pipam] near the head of the woman, moreover, having taken off (?) [alrepta] his tunic, gives full rein to his passion (?) [libidiui].

takes the woman out-of-doors and proceeds with the painting. If properly done, 561
he spits a piece of turnip into her mouth.

The woman is then conducted back to her husband. As they come near the 575
meeting place, the conductor gives a faint signal, like 796
scouts on the warpath. Then he announces the name 432
of the husband after which the woman enters and spits
the piece of turnip into her husband's mouth. This [784]
turnip is evidence that she was properly painted. She
then squats over a smudge.

Some of the women are refused by the fathers, [558]
because they themselves are not of good repute or
because their husbands are not worthy men. In any
case, it is a disgrace to the husband not to have his
wife properly painted. 561

Our informant never went through this painting 575
ceremony. Some time after joining, a woman came 796
one night and kicked on one of the tipi poles saying 531
that she came to be painted. He told her that he
could not because he had not received the necessary 237
instructions. She then returned to her husband, who 532 →
sent her to another man.

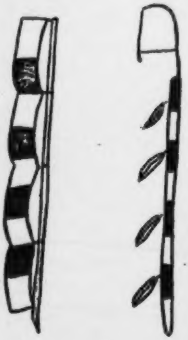

Fig. 23. Sketch of Standards used by the Horns. *a* A yellow painted Staff about seven feet long; *b* Staff carried by the mounted Members. Drawn by an Informant.

The writer has a statement from Strangling- 561
wolf that the members wear no clothes and paint
the entire body red. Some wear plumes at the 575
backs of the head, others wear war-bonnets of 796
several different forms. The lances, however, [292]
are the main objects. They are usually made of [302]
pine and cut thirty hands long. The leader's
lance is five hands longer. The hook is made of birch and tied with sinew. [237]
Around the places where the lance is to be held, bladders are wrapped, [824]
because no one should touch any of the other parts. Nine eagle tail-feathers
are used for each lance. The wrappings are of otter and swan skin. These
are kept in bundles, but new sticks are required for each ceremony, the old [782]
ones being offered to the sun (Fig. 19).A These are provided by certain men
and the fee is a horse in each case. When the stick is cut, prayers are [782]
offered and some tobacco left at the stump.[1] The whole camp must keep
very quiet while the stick is being prepared. The curved portion is made
and then bound on to the end of the staff. Then the whole is painted red, [531]
after which the wrappings and feathers are added.

There are three kinds of bonnets: the straight-up kind, one with horns, and one without.

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[1] Flat-tail, a Piegan, once cut and prepared a kit-fox lance for the writer. He performed the ceremony properly, but later met with misfortune and death. It was common talk that all this resulted from his meddling with the power of the kit-fox. [784]

A.[See Category 116, p. 411--Analyst]

561 The leader of this society has the say as to when the camp circle shall be
● 575 formed and where. He pitches his tipi within the circle.

When dancing, the lances are held out in front almost vertical. The
561 drummers sit in the center. The members dance around them sun-wise,
575 except those with the straight-up bonnets, each bearing a rattle. The latter
go in the reverse direction. The dance is closed by the leader shaking a robe
796 as if driving buffalo.

535 Mr. Duvall writes, "Near the close of the dance the man wearing the bonnet with the arrow dances in the lead while all the other members follow him. He attempts to break through the lines of the spectators who wave him back with blankets and robes and shout. The dancers seat themselves and then go through the same movements as before, trying to break through the crowd, etc. At the fourth attempt the spectators allow the dancers to pass, ending the dance."

[782] When the unwrapped sticks are offered at the sun dance a square rawhide bag is tied on containing the paint and moccasins used in the ceremony.

561 A curious rule is that when a man sells his membership, he must not meet
575 the purchasers, they being as taboo as mother-in-law and son-in-law. Once
[532] when visiting the Blood there was great confusion in the writer's tent over
[784] the unexpected entrance of a new horn member. Like the mother-in-law
taboo, this can be removed by liberal gifts in a special manner.

[606] The belief is strong that horn members have power of life and death over
[431] all outsiders. A short magic formula is known to them with which the result
[754] can be had.

Running-wolf, a very able Blood Indian, is authority for the statement
561 that after the bull society became extinct the horns took over many of their
575 rites. The headdress of the horn leader is said to have been worn by the
173 bulls. His very aged mother remembered seeing the bull dance. He called
attention to the large part buffalo conceptions seem to play in the ceremonies
and origin myths, whereas the kit-fox of the Piegan has a different mythical
origin. One of our Piegan informants was positive that the buffalo did not
figure in the kit-fox ritual in any manner whatsoever. It will be noted that
this theory of Running-wolf is consistent with our accounts of the kit-fox.
On the whole, we believe this to be the most probable explanation of the
[554] differences between the horns and the kit-fox. In a way, this would also
account for the unusual prestige now enjoyed by this organization.

NORTH BLACKFOOT SOCIETIES.

It still remains to consider the corresponding societies of the North 561
Blackfoot division. Our information here leaves much to be desired, 575
chiefly because there seems to be a less definite ranking and a number of new 124
societies included in the list. In contrast to the preceding, our informants [128]
were not in agreement as to the extent and order of the lists. They were
given as follows:—

Calf-child	*Red-old-man*	*Crane-bear*	*Strange-wolf*
mosquitoes	mosquitoes	mosquitoes	......
bees (namó)	......	......	crows
prairie-chicken	prairie-chicken	prairie-chicken	prairie-chicken
crows	......	......	......
all-brave-dogs	all-brave-dogs	all-brave-dogs	......
bad-horns	braves	black-soldiers	braves
black-soldiers	bad-horns	wolf-dancers[1]	black-soldiers
braves (ma'tse)	......	......	......
raven-bearers	raven-bearers	raven-bearers	raven-bearers
dogs	dogs	dogs	dogs
horns	black-soldiers	bulls	horns
catchers (ii'nika)	catchers	kit-fox	catchers
bulls	kit-fox	catchers	......
kit-fox	horns	horns	......

Of these we believe that of Calf-child deserving most consideration, because he seemed well informed on the details of organization for the various societies. In order to facilitate comparison we have extended the lists of other informants so as to bring as many names as possible on the same levels. We believe that an examination of these lists will justify our assumption that the differences are due to faulty memories and that each informant was
striving to state one and the same definite tribal order of rank. Further, [184]
a comparison with the list for the Piegan and Blood, will certainly lead to the inference, that the same order of ranking prevailed among the North Blackfoot. Again, our informants were positive that the rule was for each society to transfer to the members of another after an interval of four
years, or after four annual ceremonies. Hence, notwithstanding the inconsistencies, [114]
it seems clear that the North Blackfoot had the same system
of societies as the Blood and Piegan divisions. On the other hand, we find 000

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[1] makwi'yo pa'skan, not known to the other informants.

561 On the other hand, we find
575 a number of new names in our lists. There are also indications of a tendency
to readily incorporate new organizations into the series and to drop them
184 again with equal readiness. This is seemingly a symptom of looseness in
[178] organization and a less developed system of societies than among the other
two divisions, though it may be merely the result of an earlier breaking down
of the social life of the North Blackfoot.

So far as our information goes the black-soldiers (siksi'naki), raven-bearers (máesto^{x}pátakiks), dogs (imitaika), horns (i'takinai), catchers (ii'nika), bulls (sta'meksia pa'skan), and kit-fox (senopa'pasken) were similar to those of the other divisions.

561 As to traditional origins, it is said that the all-brave-dogs came from the
575 Gros Ventre and the black-soldiers from the Cree. For the other societies
173 we give the exceptions and descriptions as the case may demand.

THE MOSQUITOES.

561 The tipi in which the transfer ceremony is held is pitched outside of the
575 regular camp and is not a combined shelter as previously noted. Four
796 old men meet there with the little boys to be taken in. After the ceremony
[346] they circle the camp outside in single file and when again near their tipi,
sit in a circle with the drummers in the center. A piece of rawhide is used
instead of a drum. Here they dance four times and then run through the
camp, scratching people as previously described.

When the camp is moved, as at the sun dance for instance, the mosquitoes stay behind and dance until the procession is far away. Then they mount and charge after them, riding around and scratching people.

THE BEES.

561 The society of the bees (namó), it is said, was introduced by the Sarsi
575 many years ago and according to one informant combined with the mos-
[173] quitoes forty-eight years ago. As an organization it had two leaders of
unequal rank. They paint their faces and bodies yellow, a transverse band
[302] of red across the eyes and one across the mouth; black bands around the
[292] abdomen and the back, the wrists, and ankles. Their clothing consists of
robes, moccasins, and breech cloth. The robes are painted red and blue
[531] and bear the broad beaded band so characteristic of the Blackfoot (Vol. 5,
[237] 123). The ranking leader wears a pendant eagle feather and a strip of
[422] weasel skin at the back of the head.

[531] A decorated staff is owned by the two jointly. The grip is at one end,
[237] wrapped with weasel fur. At the other end are two branching feathers, as

upon the staff for the prairie-chickens (Fig. 24). Along the staff is a fringe 561
of buckskin and a row of dew claws. (According to James Eagle-child the 575
staff is called the bee lodge.)

The lay members paint their bodies and faces red, with a single transverse [237]
stripe of black or white across the nose. They wear only robes, moccasins, [531]
and breech cloths.

All members wear an eagle claw on the wrist, painted yellow, and secured [302]
by a buckskin thong. [292]

In dancing, the organization forms in a circle, the leaders to the west, [237]
the opening to the east, and the drummers in the center. When dancing
out-of-doors a piece of rawhide is used, but for ceremonies indoors, drums 561

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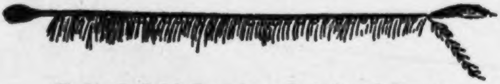

Fig. 24. Staff of the Bee society. Drawn by an Informant. [531]

are used. The staff is borne by the first leader. All follow him, when he [532]
rises they rise, etc. After the first dance, the staff goes to the second leader,
then back to the first, etc. There are four dancers and seven songs. All
movements are made sun-wise. The leaders dance inside of the circle formed
by the members. At the end of each dance, all quickly squat in their places.

At the close of the fourth dance the leader shakes the staff causing the dew claws to rattle loudly. At once the members scatter and run about scratching people. If any of the members have been to war and entered the tipi of an enemy, they may go into any tipi and scratch at will.

The tipi of the society is pitched within the camp circle and is made by [346]
combining the covers of the tipis of the two leaders.

When moving camp the members watch the leader bearing the staff and 561
follow. 575

According to our informants the bees were older than the mosquitoes. [173]
This would give them higher rank as indicated in the list of Calf-child. We
were not able to determine how two societies so similar as the mosquitoes
and the bees came to exist, but think it a good guess that one of them arose as
a rival organization.

THE PRAIRIE-CHICKENS.

An informant states that the age for entrance in the prairie-chicken
society (ke'tuki iks) was eighteen to nineteen years. There are two leaders [422]
who seem to own the emblems of their office jointly. When the society [346]

561 meets, the tipis of the two leaders are joined to form a single shelter. Two
575 old men are taken in as drummers. There is no special costume for members
[346] but each carries a rattle and paints his face yellow with red between the eyes.
[302] The leaders carry decorated staffs. One of these is about four feet in
length, the lower half plain yellow, the upper, blue and adorned with feath-
561 ers. At three places is a wrapping of weasel skin to hold four eagle feathers
575 laid on the sides of the stick. From the top extend two more eagle feathers
796 in *y* fashion. The other staff is yellow and blue as before, but bears one
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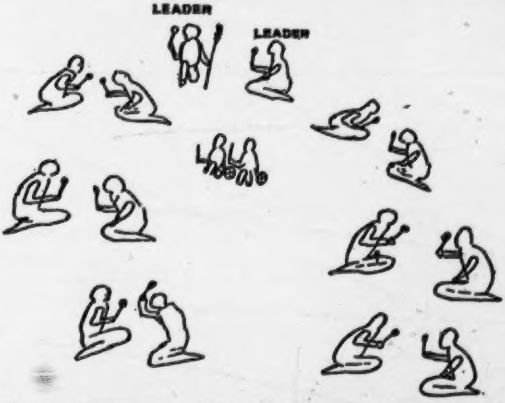

Fig. 25. Dance of the Prairie-Chicken Society. Drawn by an Informant.

561 erect feather, held by a wrapping of weasel skin, below which is a wrapping
575 of beads. We were told that in the transfer ceremony, the two leaders
796 jointly received the staffs, which is an unusual procedure.
[531] In the ceremonies of the society there are four dances at sunrise. The
[237] members number about eighty and sit on their knees in pairs in a circle.
[535] The leaders sit at the west side. The drummers sit in the middle and lean
forward and beat rapidly to make a noise like the prairie-chickens. The
two leaders get up and run around the outside of the circle and at their return
change places. The members then dance on their knees, throwing their
heads out at each other and change places. These evolutions are given four
times as stated above.
561 According to Calf-child the society was first organized when his father
575 was a boy and by his grandfather. Youths only were taken into it. The
173

old man did not dream of it, but based it upon a dance he had seen in his 561
boyhood. 575

The origin myth is as follows:— 173

> Once an old man saw some prairie-chickens dance. He was a trapper and set some snares in which the dancers were entangled. Afterwards he had a dream in which the oldest of the chickens appeared and said, "You have killed my children and spoiled our dance. If you do not leave us alone, I will take your children away. How would you like that. If I had but few children, I would take some of yours; but since I have many, you may keep yours."
>
> The old chicken carried a staff like that used in the society. Then he began to dance and gave the old man directions for forming a society.

THE CROWS.

The important point in this society is that it was organized about forty- 561
one years ago and gave its annual ceremony four times, and then ceased 575
to meet. It is said to have originated in the dream of a North Blackfoot [787]
boy. It should not be confused with the ma'estoˣpa'takiks (raven-bearers).
The leader and the members wore fringed black shirts and leggings. All 561
carried buffalo tails. Their faces were painted red or yellow, with black 575
symbols representing crow's feet. 796

There were three to four drummers who sat in the center of the dance [292]
circle. Near them was the skin from the head of a buffalo and upon it the [237]
head of a crow. The leader held these alternately when dancing. The [302]
dances were held in the night and were very noisy, like congregated crows. [535]

A special drum was provided, painted black, and bore a picture of a [534]
crow.

THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS.

While with the Piegan, the members paint according to their rattles, [302] in this division they paint according to a definite formula, yellow on the face with transverse bars of red across the eyes and mouth. The wives of members take part as previously noted, but paint like their husbands and may at times dance in their stead. In the regular ceremonies they dance at four different points in the camp circle. Our informants mentioned the two bear members, described by the Piegan. The North Blackfoot name is ma'tse.

THE BAD-HORNS.

This was organized by a North Blackfoot man who believed he had died 561
and visited the land of the dead. He came to a place where the dead were 575
[787]

561 dancing. As he stood watching, the leader shook his staff at him at which
575 he passed again into life. His name was Calf-shakes-his-head and after-
[787] ward he founded the society.

The leader carries a staff about four feet long bearing fringes and hoofs
561 throughout its length. The fringe is made from the smoky top of a tipi.
575 One end of the staff is sharpened for planting in the ground. The costume
796 is a very long shirt, like a woman's dress with fringes on the sides, made of
[292] smoky tipi covers. The leggings and moccasins are of the same material.
White paint is spread around the eyes, and around the mouth, red with an
[302] outer border of white.

The second leader has a staff and a costume identical with the first.

[535] There is but one song. In the dance they stand fast, moving the head
and shoulders only. The positions are as in other societies. All hold
[534] whistles in their mouths while making the dancing movements.

There are three drums. These are laid upon the ground and not held when beaten.

The name of this society is pa^{x}ka'potskinaiye.

THE BRAVES.

[184] The organization is on the whole, similar to the corresponding society among the Piegan, but an informant gave the following exceptions:—

[292] The shirts they wear are long and reach to the feet. They are made from the smoked parts of tipis. They have a headdress that seems to be a painted cap with holes for the eyes, nose, and mouth. They have two white lances. The informant claims that formerly there were but two of these, and that later they added two more. The other features of the dance are as described by the Piegan.

SUMMARY.

561 In general it may be said that the Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfoot
575 divisions of the Blackfoot Indians have the same series of societies for men.
184 The same conceptions underlie their gradations and functions and in most
cases the details of organization and the names are identical. This can be interpreted in two ways: either the system was acquired before the divisions separated, or it was disseminated from one center. For a long time the Blood and Piegan have been most intimate and the Indians themselves seem to recognize greater affinity between them. Consistent with this is the close correspondence between their societies. Yet, the greater differences for the North Blackfoot occur among the societies for younger men, which as we

have seen, are by tradition at least, the most recent. Hence, it is a reason- 561
able assumption that formerly the same system prevailed in all divisions. 575
Yet, when minute details are regarded, certain interesting tendencies appear. 184
The organizations peculiar to the North Blackfoot tend to have certain features in common; for example, two leaders jointly owning the tipi or the badge of office, features not noted elsewhere. A like tendency toward the exemption of certain members from police duty, appears peculiar to the Blood. On the other hand, the main patterns for the societies of all divisions are the same, as shown in the arrangement of leaders, the order of the dances, etc. Thus, in general, we have a definite Blackfoot pattern common to all, with but slight deviations toward sub-patterns for the respective divisions, all of which emphasizes the similarity throughout.

This general pattern may be formulated as follows:—

1. A progressive membership.
2. Annual ceremonies, a reorganization each year at the forming of the camp circle (Vol. 7, 22).
3. Transfer of membership at the end of a four year period.
4. Absence of moral and practical qualifications for admission and of all provisions for expelling undesirable members.

The most unique feature of this scheme is the apparent ranking by degrees 561
and the corresponding age equality of the members. We have already 575
called attention to the Indian's notion that, functionally the system is 182
merely the progressive membership of a group of chums or friends. On the 174
other hand, the grading system is not dependent upon this feature, since such a system could be carried out equally well by individual promotions at irregular intervals. The important point in this is, however, that these Indians did not so much have in mind that all these societies constituted a graded series, as that they were linked together in a chain of ceremonial transfers. While a Piegan knew that one must first join the pigeons and would end when he passed out of the bulls, he thought of the procedure in this way: first one may buy into the pigeons, but a pigeon must buy into the mosquitoes, and transfer his pigeon membership to a novice, a mosquito must buy into the braves, etc. to the end of the list. Once one entered into the thing, he automatically took on a religious obligation to carry it through to its ultimate conclusion. It was precisely like taking over the ownership and obligations associated with any Blackfoot ritual, the condition here being that one entered a series of linked rituals, with periodic transfer ceremonies. This is strikingly consistent with the opinion of two intelligent Piegan informants, that the order of such transfers was determined by the historical sequence in which the society rituals were acquired. Thus, if all existing societies are linked, a new one can be added most

561 575 182 174 easily at the beginning, since there its new members are free to buy in and have no prestige to sacrifice, as would members of the bulls. We should then expect that in the ordinary course of events the first society for one to enter, would be the most recent in origin and the last one in the list, the oldest. On the other hand, it should be noted that there is nothing in the nature of the Blackfoot ritual system that precludes the introduction of a new society at any point in the series, if supernatural sanction could be secured for the change. We offer the above not as certain proof that the rank of these societies was due to seniority of origin, but as a very plausible theory as to how the Blackfoot came to recognize such a system of graded societies. Supporting this theory we have the definite statement by informants that seniority of origin did determine the rank, the consistent traditions that the lower societies had been originated recently, and the peculiar linked transfer obligation, which if held inviolate, necessitated such an order. These make a strong presumption that a historical explanation will fully account for the Blackfoot scheme of gradation. The best examples of sub-patterns are the dual ownership of a staff of office noted in the bees, prairie-chicken, and bad horn societies of the North Blackfoot and the adjunct of the two bear members in the pigeon, mosquito, brave, and all-brave-dog societies of the Piegan. The latter feature is not exclusively Piegan, however, but has been carried out by them in the construction of all the lower societies. An examination of the list of societies for each division (p. 369)[A] will show that practically everything above the front-tails and black soldiers will cancel out as common to all. It is clear that the North Blackfoot must have developed the bad horns, prairie-chicken, and bee societies with their common and distinct pattern; as to the bear men of the Piegan it is not so clear, though it seems certain that they originated the pigeon society and it is probable that they created the whole group containing the two bear members. The higher ranks in the series cancel off so nicely that it seems a fair guess that they arose before the several divisions of the Blackfoot became distinct, or at least during a period when they were under one tribal government.

561 575 Three Piegan men gave us statements as to their membership in various societies:—

> Bad-old-man bought into the mosquitoes while he was quite young but after his marriage. This was before the pigeons were started. For this membership he paid a gun and clothing. At the end of four years he sold out and joined the braves at a cost of some blankets and clothing. After three years he sold his membership in the braves and bought into the all-brave-dogs. Now, it happened that he purchased this membership from his own son-in-law and he gave as the purchase price his youngest daughter. After three years he sold his membership in the all-brave-dogs and pur-

[A] [See Category 116--Analyst]

chased a place in the front-tails, paying a horse. After four years he sold out and purchased into the raven-bearers for which he paid a horse. The next summer he joined the horns as he was then living with the Blood. For this he paid a horse, a gun, a saddle, and many blankets. After four years he sold his membership in the horns. As he never sold his membership in the raven-bearers he is still a member of that organization.

Big-brave was taken into the front-tails at eighteen years of age. The members of this society were much older than he but he was taken in as one of the young men comrades. As explained elsewhere, most societies have one or more young men and four much older men as members. This was the first society Big-brave joined. Two years after this, while still a member of the front-tails he was taken into the pigeons, according to his age, that is, all of his chums who were all about the same age as himself bought into the pigeon society. He bought the place of one of the yellow pigeons. A year after this, many members died of the smallpox and the two leaders of the pigeons were killed in war so that the next time they met, Big-brave was chosen as one of the leaders. The proper regalia were transferred to him and his yellow pigeon regalia transferred to another. He gave a gun, some blankets, and clothing as a fee when he first joined the pigeons since in those days the fees for joining were not so great as later. He was a member of the pigeon society three years in all, when the whole society sold out to younger men. All this time Big-brave was a member of the front-tails which society then bought into the raven-bearers. They urged Big-brave to join them but he told them that since he had become a man and was then married he did not care to join their society, because all the members were much older than he and that he thought it best to purchase into a society according to his age and rank, or into the society in which all his chums were. However, the front-tails prevailed upon him until he joined them in the purchase of the raven-bearers. During the same year, he with the pigeons, bought into the mosquito society. After he had been in the raven-bearer society for a year he sold out and three years later sold out his membership as a mosquito, he having been in that society four years. The year after this he bought into the brave society of which he has been a member ever since as he never sold out. Twenty-nine years ago (1911) he was made a member in the all-brave-dogs society to take the place of one of the old men members and, since he never sold out, he is still a member of this society. He also dances the grass dance as it makes no difference who dances in this association nowadays. As Big-brave explained he did not join the front-tails and the raven-bearers according to his rank or in the order in which he should, but was taken into the front-tails as a boy member and afterward induced by them to continue the association when they purchased into the raven-bearers. Then again when he joined the all-brave-dogs, who were all much younger men, he was taken in as one of the old men members. He further comments that each society took in four old men comrades and four very young men, spoken of as single men comrades, and that when a society sells out its membership they call in former members to officiate in the transfer, that is, all those of whom they purchased their membership who, in turn, transfer it to those to whom they are to sell.

When about eighteen years of age Bear-skin joined the pigeons. He claims that he and some of his chums organized this society which was dreamed by an old blind man. After remaining with the pigeons for three years he sold out to a younger man and then bought into the braves. As he was absent when his fellow-members bought

561 575 into the mosquitoes, he with them bought into the braves again and thus remained a member for five years. For two years he was a member of the all-brave-dogs but joined no other society after this because all the societies for older men had been discontinued.

Extended comment on these narratives seems unnecessary since taken in their entirety they present almost every phase of the Blackfoot system of progressive membership. We have previously noted that theoretically a membership terminated during the fourth year, but this seems to have been contingent upon opportunity to sell out. It will be observed that of the ten intervals given by our informants, four are of three years' duration instead of four years. This may be due to the stated rule that one should sell during the fourth year of membership which in some cases would give an actual interval of little more than three years. When Bear-skin corrected his error in skipping a society, he not only served four additional years, but felt obligated to buy in a second time with his companions. As noted elsewhere this companionship feature seems one of the fundamental conceptions in the Blackfoot scheme.

We understand that there were no definite age requirements for membership. On this point, however, we have very meager concrete data. Some informants were of the opinion that the ages of members would not vary more than two years, which is in keeping with the Blackfoot conception of chums (Vol. 7, 16). On the other hand, some informants were equally positive that great differences in age did exist. It is evident that if all members in a society are of equal age, there must be an absolute age limit for entrance to the first of the series. There is no evidence that this was the case.

Thus, since boys of any age were taken into the lowest society and then automatically carried through the series, there could be no great uniformity in age. It may be that the chum idea was made the basis of a symbolic equality in ages; at least, this was Mr. Duvall's opinion.

561 575 432 424 We come now to the method of joining a society. In the preceding paper on the Blackfoot (Vol. 7) we discussed the transfer conception, or scheme, that seems to underlie all their ceremonial procedure; hence we need but add that membership in a society falls under the same scheme. When it is said that one society sells, or transfers, to another, the process is in all essentials the same as for ceremonial bundles. As we have pointed out the latter are strictly of individual ownership and it is quite in keeping with this rule that when entering a society, you have transferred to you the particular regalia, seat, and functions of a given member. As is made clear in the account for the horns (p. 413) the parties to this transfer are the new member, the retiring member, and an ex-member, the latter officiating.

No other man has any part in the ceremony. This is practically identical 561
with the son, father, and transferrer relations previously discussed (Vol. 7). 575
While it is the rule that all members perform these various ceremonies of
transfer at the same time, they may occur at any time, as is shown in our 432
personal narratives. If for any reason *A* should privately transfer to *B*, 424
B and not *A* would report when the next meeting of the society was called. It seems then that these societies are after all but organizations of individually owned ritualistic bundles (regalia) and that the whole conforms to the tribal ceremonial scheme.

This accounts for the absence of anything like election or selection of 561
officers, or persons to fill important functions. Thus, it was the rule for 575
the young man who held the leader's place in the lower society to receive by transfer the regalia of the next higher, etc., to the end of the list. On the other hand, any leader could privately transfer his regalia to another, who thereby became the leader. It was the custom, however, to fill vacancies by death by a kind of informal election among the surviving members. Thus, there were no important restrictions to membership, since even the purchase price was insignificant. Conversely, there are no provisions for dismissing members who fail to live up to ideals, nor were we able to find special ideals of conduct as among the Dakota societies (p. 64).

Another interesting feature of this society system is the adjunct of four old men and four very young men, the former seemingly as honorary members, the latter as assistants. Consistent with the scheme of comradeship these usually accompany the age group to which they were first attached even up through the higher ranks. The old men have very real and important functions in the pigeons and mosquitoes since the youthfulness of the regular members is likely to interfere with ceremonial decorum. Likewise the young men assistants have very real functions in the highest rank where the members are likely to be among the superannuated.

WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

THE MA'TOKI.

575 Among the Blood and North Blackfoot division flourishes a woman's society known as the ma'toki. No one seemed to know of any such organization among the Piegan. The word cannot be readily translated and may be of foreign origin. Among the white people in Canada the name "buffalo
575 dance" is current.[1] The first mention of the ceremony seems to be Maxi-
796 milian's brief account:—

> 535 The medicine dance of the women does not occur every year. It is a medicine feast for the latter, at which, however, some men likewise appear. A large wooden
> [346] hut is erected, the women dress themselves as handsomely as they can, and all wear
> [292] a large feather cap. Some of the women take no part in the dance, and these, with the men, are spectators. Men beat the drum, and shake the schischikué, the last
> [534] day of the feast; when the dance is finished, the buffalo park is imitated; the men, the children, and the remaining women form two diverging lines, *b* and *c*, which proceed from the medicine lodge, out of which the women creep, crawling on all-fours, and endeavour to imitate the manners of the buffalo cows. Several men represent buffalo bulls, and are at first driven back by the women; but then, as is the practice in this kind of hunting, a fire is kindled to windward, and the women, or buffalo cows, as soon as they smell the smoke, retreat into the medicine lodge, which concludes the festival. They sometimes perform this dance in the summer, when the fancy takes them.[2]

575 From Mr. Duvall's notes we take the following:—

> 796 The ma'toki dance but once a year when the camp circle is formed. Their
> 346 ceremony lasts four days. First they make a shelter somewhat like the one used for a sun dance. A tipi pole is set up in the center, with a peculiar cross piece near the top. A number of travois are set up in a circle around this pole and joined together by tipi poles tied along the top, making a single railing all the way around. Then other tipi poles are tied to this and to the cross piece on the center pole, forming rafters like in the sun dance shelter. On the sides and over the top are stretched tipi covers. At the bottom they are weighted with stones. Along the sides within blankets are suspended.
>
> [422] The center pole is the ceremonial property of the leader of the ma'toki and her organization name is ma'toki-tipi-pole-owner. Near the cross piece on the pole are four transverse black bands about a hand apart.
>
> When the shelter is ready the members bring their bedding and occupy their respective places during the entire four days.

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[1] See McClintock, 450.
[2] Maximilian, 112, 115.

There are six men attached to the society, but all the other members are women. Four of these do the singing. The remaining pair act as messengers and attendants. 575 796
The women are organized as follows:—

The snake bonnets (6)	The buffalo wool bonnets(×)
The scabby bulls (4)	The feather bonnets (×)

The tipi pole owner is one of the snake bonnets. Each woman has a red-painted backrest stick planted before her seat to support her headdress. When they sleep, they lie with their feet toward the center. Just to the west side of the center pole is a fire. When food is brought in and handed to members, they pass what is given

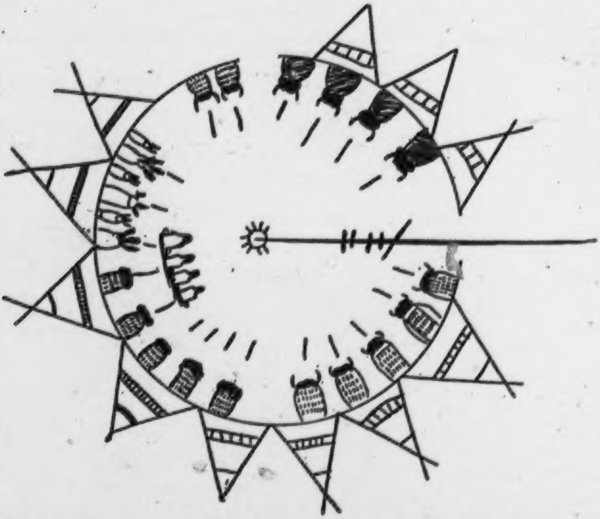

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Fig. 26. Diagram showing the Ceremony of the Ma'toki. Drawn by Mrs. Heavy-runner. The top of the sketch is north. The positions of the two doors are shown; to the west of the center pole sit the four male singers; behind these to the north are the six snake-headdress members, to the south the five feather-headdress members; south of the east door sit the buffalo-wool headdress members; to the north the four scabby bulls; the marks above the heads of members indicate sticks for supporting the headdresses when not in use. The triangular figures outside represent travois.

them to members on the opposite side. Each member has an individual smudge altar before her seat. For these the grass is cleared from a small oblong. Along the sides next to the sitter are rows of buffalo chips covered with sage grass. Sweet-grass is used for the smudge. The headdresses must always be smudged four times before they are placed on the head. 575 796

575 796 [782] [302] During the first day men, women, and children go in to be painted, taking with them sun offerings of cloth, etc., which are tied to the base of the center pole. The faces of these donors are painted over with red and a blue mark made down the forehead and nose with a fork at the top. This is said to symbolise the tipi pole in the center and spoken of as the tipi pole paint.

[346] [534] The ceremonial shelter has two doors, one at the northeast and one at the southeast. In going out members use the nearest door but return by the other. The four singers use rattles and a rawhide of the same type as accompanies the beaver bundle (Vol. 7, 190). They sit west of the fireplace.

[535] [292] [237] [531] All the women wear bone whistles suspended by neck cords and upon these they blow while they dance. They do not all dance at once, but by groups. Thus, the four scabby bulls rise and dance. When they sit again the feather bonnets take a turn, etc. In all movements the owner of the tipi pole has absolute authority. Her person seems to be regarded as sacred. She wears a buckskin dress and a snake bonnet and sits to the right of the other snake bonnet wearers. This bonnet takes its name from a circlet of buckskin stuffed with hair and resembling a snake. It is painted yellow with a zigzag line beaded along the side. On each side of the head is a bunch of plumes. Fringes of weasel fur and beads hang from the sides.

[535] The feather bonnets are covered over the crowns with a mass of soft bird feathers. They have tail pieces falling down on the shoulders and bearing transverse rows of small wing and tail feathers. All their dances occur in the daytime. The scabby bulls wear bonnets with horns and robes of cowskin, hair side out. They dance in single file, circling the pole. First they rise and dance in their tracks, then move to the south side of the fire and dance, then to the west and then to the north. Next the snake bonnets rise with the tipi pole owner in the lead and dance in the same way. Next come the feather bonnets and finally the buffalo wool bonnets.

[782] It is customary for persons who have made vows, or pledges during the year, if their prayers be granted, to provide a feast of berry soup for the ma'toki. At various times during the ceremonies a pledger brings in a kettle of soup and some tobacco which is offered to the tipi pole owner with an announcement of the circumstances. Then the soup is dished out to the members and each and all pray for the pledger.

796 575 535 On the morning of the last day, before sunrise, the ma'toki forms in procession and imitates buffalo going to water. They seek out some depression or low place in the prairie. As they drift along they segregate, as they do in the dance. At a place designated by the leader they all lie down like buffalo.

Now, it is customary for a man or a boy to have made a vow that he will "drive in the ma'toki" at their next ceremony. His sacrifice must be a horse and many presents to the owner of the tipi pole. This man then rides out as if looking for buffalo. When he finds them, he builds a fire with cow dung to windward. As soon as the ma'toki smell the smoke, they rise. The driver then mounts and rides toward them, at which they start for their shelter. As they proceed, he rides on their flank. They trot to the shelter, but the four scabby bulls trail slowly in the rear. When the members get inside the shelter they run around the inside sun-wise until one by one some person lays hold of them and leads them to a seat. Two of the snake bonnets run around in the reverse way. The four bulls come in last and walk slowly around until pulled into their seats.

796 575 Like the horns and other societies the members sell, or transfer, to others, usually all transferring at the same time. The ceremony seems to require four days and

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nights, during which time they are not supposed to sleep. No men are admitted at 796
any time and the six male members are sent home at night. It is said that the entire 575
night is given to hilarity. Joke and jest reign supreme. Some dress like men and
act out the part, give orders to a wife, etc. Some roll up blankets like medicine bun- 432
dles and hold mock ceremonies. The object of this seems to be that no one may go
to sleep.

The fees for buying a membership are a horse, a gun, and other property. The [424]
most expensive place is that of the tipi pole owner for which twelve horses and a
proportionate amount of other property are required.

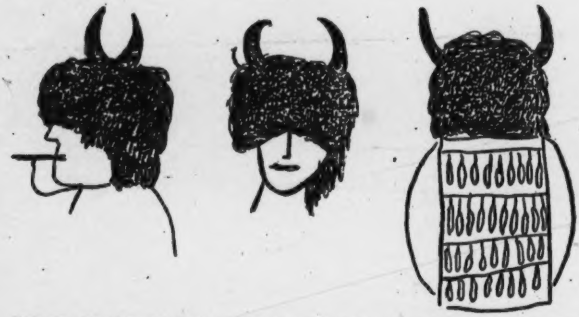

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Fig. 27. Buffalo-wool Headdresses for the Ma'toki. Drawn by Mrs. Heavy-runner. These are intended for different views of the same headdress. The top is heavily covered with buffalo hair while the skirt bears four rows of bird feathers. The wearers paint a circular white spot on each cheek and one on the forehead, with a cross in each produced by rubbing away the paint.

As to the transfer ceremony, we have not been informed, but have notes 796
on an interesting proceeding between the new member and the one she dis- 575
places. In the morning each new member goes to the one she purchased of, 432
her ceremonial mother. She enters the tipi, throws down her robe, places
her hands upon the mother's head, passing them down to her shoulders and
kisses her. By this the mother understands that she is to accompany her
daughter. The mother is conducted to the shelter, walking behind and given
a seat facing the center. The daughter then sits in front facing the mother.
Some red paint in a cup and some blue paint in a shell is provided. The [302]
mother then paints the daughter's face.[1]

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[1] The following comment is by Mr. Duvall: — Our informant did not say whether the old members had to remain there during the whole day or not. The old members had to be there every morning and painted those who came there to be painted. The ma'toki were in charge when the camp circle was formed. It seems that they meet at the time of the sun dance. I am unable to find out whether they meet at the time of the tobacco planting.

Her husband belonged to the horns but refused to talk about them as it was said to be

796 Outsiders may come in later with offerings to the sun and have their
575 faces painted by the mothers. The regular painting is yellow over the face
432 with a red horizontal band across the eyes and one across the mouth.
302 Down the forehead and nose is the peculiar forked line in blue, previously
mentioned.

796 It is a peculiar fact that the horn society having its ceremonies at the
575 same time, brings in its unwrapped lances and fastens them to the center
[561] pole as an offering.

The closing ceremony of the ma'toki consists in taking down the shelter and the frame, leaving only the center pole, with its sun offerings. Then the members stand around the pole and sing. This concludes the ceremonies for the year. (Fig. 19.)A

The ma'toki, like the horns, seems to be feared on account of its magical powers, though it is regarded as inferior. During their ceremonies and especially at night, they must not be disturbed.

The statement of another informant is as follows:—

> The ma'toki meet once a year at the time of the sun dance. Should there be no
> sun dance, they would perform their annual ceremony anyway. The owner of the
> center tipi pole seems to have full powers of initiation and from her must come all
> instructions as to date, place, etc. In response to her call a camp circle is formed.
> [782] When a sun dance is not given simultaneously, the ma'toki go about from tipi to tipi
> collecting the cloth, etc., to be offered the sun, which is then tied to the center tipi
> pole. If a sun dance is under way, they are tied to the sun dance pole instead.
>
> [432] During each ceremony, early in the morning, the new members go out and bring
> in those whose membership they purchased. Suppose A transferred a place to B;
> then B conducts A to the ceremonial shelter and A paints B. This must be done
> each morning during the ceremony. A remains in the shelter during the day, to
> paint any outsider who may come with offerings for the sun.

Dr. R. H. Lowie observed parts of the ma'toki ceremony among the Northern Blackfoot and writes as follows:—

> In the afternoon of June 17th the twenty members of the ma'toki were busy
> constructing the lodge for their dance. After several hours' work they proceeded to
> the circumference of the camp circle for the selection of a lodge. They marched in
> single file, headed by an old man who was said to sing at their performance. After
> a while they were followed by a man bearing an eagle feather fan, the herald of the
> [346] sun dance. They walked twice around a lodge, stood still for a while, then took
> down the lodge and carried it back to the dance lodge where it was superimposed on
> the conical roof of the structure already erected. The walls of the lodge were lined

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[796] dangerous. He is a member of the horns and his wife a ma'toki. Mrs. Strangle-wolf speaks
[575] of the horn members' wives and yet we find one man who is a horn and his wife is not. I
[432] asked them about this, and she said that she was a ma'toki, that her husband was not, and
that she had nothing to do with the horns.

A.[See Category 116, p. 411--Analyst]

with canvas, a series of travois was fastened to the beams right around, the center pole had two pieces of calico cloth tied to it. The women sat nearest the walls, two rows deep. 575 796

The performance proper of which only a very small portion was seen (on June 19th) commenced about 6 o'clock and was said to cease at sunset. In the back, but in front of the women, sat four men in a line, who were chanting and beating their rattles. Four women crawled on their knees (not hands) to a diametrically opposite position to that of the chanters, and after the song arose and one after another touched the center pole. Then they danced in their places, moving one hand rhythmically. Their places were taken by several women wearing horn headdresses. These also danced in their places, walked a few paces to the left, and then resumed motions as before. When diametrically opposed to the singers, the touching of the center pole regularly took place. At intervals a woman seized five or six rattles, carried them near the center pole and beat them there. Two of the dancers had bone whistles, which were blown at regular intervals. [346] [535] [534]

DANCE ASSOCIATIONS.

There are still a number of ceremonies of a more or less social character 535
which because of their loose organization we have designated as dance 575
associations.

The Hair-Parters or Grass Dance.

The well known grass dance of the Northern Plains appears among the [184]
Blackfoot under the name ka'espai and flourishes among all the tribal divisions.
A spirited description of it will be found in McClintock's, "Old
North Trail." This dance was acquired some years ago from neighboring 535
tribes. While some informants believe the first forms of it came from the 177
Crow and Assiniboine, all are positive that its formal installation came from [173]
the Gros Ventre, about thirty years ago. Even at the present day, a Blackfoot
visiting the Gros Ventre generally brings back some new point of procedure.
Quite recently the Piegan have helped introduce the ceremony to 535
the Flathead. It seems to us that owing to the historical point of view in 171
present-day anthropology, according to which the question of independent [177]
and common origin is vital, such data have a peculiar value. This particular
ceremony presents a most interesting case of diffusion since it can be [121]
traced over the Plains without difficulty. Among the Gros Ventre, some of [345]
the Assiniboine, the several divisions of the Dakota, and the Crow, the ceremonies
are usually held in a peculiar many-sided house with a square hole
or opening in the roof. We have seen a number of these houses among the
tribes mentioned and find them of precisely the same form and internal
arrangement. We learned that the first of these houses among the Piegan 535
was built about twelve years ago on Black-tail Creek near Heart Butte. 174
Two or three years later a second was erected on Little Badger Creek and [345]
about two years ago a third on Cut Bank Creek. However, the Piegan had
the dance some time before the first dance house was erected. Maclean
notes the presence of this organization among the Blood in 1892[1] and Dr.
Lowie reports it as present among the Northern Blackfoot in 1907, but as
to the time of its introduction, we have no data.

Mr. Duvall gathered two rather full accounts of the dance from which we 535
take the following:—

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[1] Vol. 4, 255. He translates the name as Sioux warriors.

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

535 173 177 [721] Long before the Piegan had the grass dance, thirty-five or forty years ago, some of the regalia, the war-bonnet, tomahawk, two dancing whips, feather tail belt, and a drum were captured from the Sioux and Assiniboine. A Piegan war party went among the Sioux and found the body of a Sioux tied up in a tree with a large drum near it. The Piegan took the drum and used the leather head for the soles of moccasins.

Some years later the Piegan met the Crow who told them that the regalia they had captured were used in the grass dance. They also taught them the dance. Later, Bob-tail-horse, who had stolen the drum from the Sioux grave made another like it. The Piegan then organized the grass dance which was later improved by Big-nose and Running-rabbit who visited the Assiniboine and brought back many of the dance outfits. As I obtained this information from three or four different people, I am quite sure the grass dance was first given by the Crow. Though the Piegan captured some of the dance regalia, they did not know its use until they met the Crow. Thus they held the dance, but later the Gros Ventre and Assiniboine gave them more of the regalia and added much more to the dance.

535 575 [431] [784] Formerly, the rules for the dance were very different from the present rules. The first grass dance society used to throw away women, horses, blankets, and other property. A stick is thrown away and whoever gets it receives the property for which it was thrown. When a member of the dance drops anything, he must not pick it up. Now, should a member drop something during the dance all the members dance around it in a circle, until someone picks it up, relates four war deeds, and returns it to the owner.

[778] [789] [751] Most of the dance regalia, such as the tomahawk, the sword and belt, were considered very sacred. For example, if a man has been with a woman the night before the dance, he must not dance with the belt. If this rule be broken, the penalty is a lame back. Women must not touch any of these things or their hands will swell. The men must also avoid smoking with women.

When the dance paraphernalia are not in use they are wrapped up lengthwise in a small bundle of calico, and tied with a cord. Before using, a smudge is made and the bundle held in it.

[789] [787] One of the members furnished the tobacco and filled the pipes for the others to smoke. Four single women members were taken in. These women assisted in the singing and often rode double with the men when they rode around the camps at night, singing. The evening before the dance some of the members would sing to bring good weather the next day. They had a pipe about seven inches long painted red. One of the members filled the pipe, held it up, remaining seated. While the others sang, he held the bowl and stem with both hands on a level with his eyes. Then he dropped the pipe to the ground. If none of the tobacco was spilled the day would be fine, but if some was dropped the day would be stormy.

[262] In the dance, dogs are eaten. These are furnished by outsiders who are well paid in blankets, clothing, and possibly a gun and horse. Each member is supposed to bring with him a cup in which the berry soup or coffee is placed by two or more men. If a member has no cup the food will be poured into his hat or blanket to teach him to bring a cup the next time. While the food is being served all the members say, "How," meaning, "I have enough." Should any member omit this, he will be compelled to eat all the food alone as a punishment.[1]

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[192] [1] On inquiry Mr. Duvall found that the Indians were ignorant of the origin of this word, but used it because it was taught them by the Assiniboine in transferring the ceremony. This is an interesting example of a borrowed word. In Dakota, the word is used in greeting or in expressing satisfaction.

When a dance is announced, all the members leave blankets or other property 535 with the whip or sword owners as a pledge to attend the dance. Should a member 575 fail to attend, his property will be destroyed by the sword and whip men. Occasionally, other property is returned in its stead. [784]

During the dance, the whip owners aided by the sword owners, force the members to dance by striking them. Should they cause the blood to flow, the whip and sword [681] men pay the injured man well. When the members wish to go out during the dance they give the whip owners some trinket, as a ring or necklace, in order to get permission to leave.

Later the grass dance society sold their dance regalia to the Blood. Afterwards [184] the Piegan frequently visited the Assiniboine and Gros Ventre and returned with some grass dance regalia and revived the dance, and added more to it every year. [177] Nowadays, the dance is very different from what it used to be, and is not considered powerful medicine. [178] Dog flesh is no longer eaten, although the feast itself has not been abolished. At the present time anyone may join the dance as it is only given [262] for amusement.

Henry-no-bear, one of the best singers among the grass dance members, once [432] paid seven horses, a gun, and blankets for the office of furnishing tobacco. When he sold to another man he received in payment only two horses and a few blankets. [424] Nowadays, they neither sell nor buy into the society, but anyone owning a good dance outfit joins the dance. Sometimes one man can borrow the dance outfit from another and dance with it. There is no leader in the dance as all the members wish to be chiefs.

A second informant gave the following:—

At the present time the grass dance may be danced by anyone as it is not a ceremonial dance. 535 Once the crow belt and some other things were held to be sacred. [778] The Blood now have a sacred crow belt.

Formerly, the members feared to smoke a pipe with a woman. Should a member [784] drop anything at any time he must leave it for another to pick up. Only the counting of four war deeds will give him the right to do so. This taboo is nowadays kept only during the dance and is entirely disregarded at other times. Often property, [231] such as blankets, or horses, or even a woman is thrown away during the grass dance.[1]

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[1] An informant commented as follows: — Sometimes the grass dancers give up their [586] wives. However, as this dance came from the Crow, the custom is more common among them. Some twenty years ago Flat-tail, a Piegan, gave up his wife during the grass dance. [587] He threw away a stick and said at the same time, "This is my wife, I am going to throw her away." One, John-shorty, picked up the stick and took the woman as his wife. Both are still living. This was the first time this was done among the Piegan.

When a man finds fault with his wife he simply sends her back to her own people. One time a man discovered that his wife had a lover. Instead of killing her, as is usually done, he told her he would force her to marry her lover. The woman's brother heard of this and killed her. So the Piegan never make their wives marry others.

In the dog society it is the custom to give away a woman. A Blood once had several wives and decided to give the youngest to a man he liked. They were married and he called the man son-in-law and treated the young woman as his daughter. Another Piegan was very fond of the sweat house. One of his wives ran off with another man. The people told the young man with whom the Piegan's wife had run off to make a sweat house and pay the husband a horse for his wife. The man was well pleased with the sweat house and did not even accept the horse, but gave up his wife to the other and both men remained good friends.

535 575 [431] In throwing away a blanket the stick is not used. Nowadays this custom is not adhered to very strongly. Only when visitors from other reservations are present are presents given. There are seven belts belonging to different members with which all the members must dance and present to the visitors whatever they can afford, horses, blankets, or money. Others relate war deeds and give away property to the visitors.

[534] There are three dance houses on the reservation. Four large drums are used in the dance but only one of these may be used at a time. These drums are made of cow hide and about the size of a bass drum. Some commercial drums are also used. [531] The cowhide drums are painted blue and red and placed on curved sticks, decorated with beadwork. About eight men sit around the drum, each man taking his turn to sing and drum.

[292] When the women dance the singers rise to sing for them. The women dance in a circle with the men among them. Four women dance around at a time, wearing war-bonnets, all the women taking turns at wearing them. After the women have [431] danced, the dance ends. The wearing of the bonnets brings with it the same obligations as the wearing of one of the seven belts among the men, that is, presenting gifts to visitors. The four war-bonnets are hung up at the rear of the dance house. Before the women begin to dance, four men rise, dance, and each counting four war deeds, the bonnets are given to the women.

[262] Six or eight chiefs or old warriors are chosen to eat the dog. They are seated on a blanket near the pot of dog meat and after they have finished eating, they rise and dance, each one tells four war deeds and gives presents. The man who owns the arrow or spoon rises and dips the point of the arrow into the pot of dog meat which is then ready for the dog eaters.

Nowadays, there seems to be no leader in the dance as every one wishes to be leader. There is one man who cares for the tobacco and fills the pipes for all the members; five men to do the lashing to induce the members to dance. These men give presents at the beginning of the dance thus purchasing the right to the whipping. [681] These men dance around and lash all those who remain seated. If they should bruise anyone while doing this, they must pay the person who is hurt. Two other men have swords, or long knives, and assist the lashers. Three men act as criers, announcing when gifts are made, where the next dance is to take place, etc.

Among the women, there are two whippers. Everyone dresses and paints to suit his own fancy. Usually the dance lasts all day and half the night. Near the end of the dance the dog meat and other food is eaten. The feast is provided by those who give the dance.

[734] Should a member drop anything during the dance he must not pick it up. All the members rise and dance in a circle until someone picks up the object dropped, relates four war deeds, and returns it to its owner.

[533] There are a great many dance songs for only certain men to dance. They are: songs for those who own the whips; for those who own the swords; for the one who owns a whistle; for those who were wounded in battle; for those who eat the dogs; for the man who owns the arrow; for those who were surrounded by enemies in battle; for those who did not run when fighting; for those who take down the women's war-bonnets; for those who gave many presents; for those who wear black clothing in the scalp dance; and for those who cut the ropes when stealing horses from the enemy's camp. A closing song is sung for those who were wounded in battle and who lead all the members out of the dance house.

Long before the grass dance was introduced among the Piegan they had captured some of the paraphernalia from other tribes. One time a Piegan went to steal horses from the Assiniboine. He found an Assiniboine grave with a large drum. He took the drum and returned home with it. The Piegan knew these things were for the grass dance, but did not know much about it. Later the dance was introduced by some Piegan who visited the Gros Ventre. Every year some new feature is added to the dance and all come from the Gros Ventre. 535 177 [721] [173]

In 1907 Dr. R. H. Lowie observed this dance among the Northern Blackfoot. From his notes we quote as follows:— 535

> The dancing ground was U-shaped, bounded by a dozen wagons. In the center floated the Union Jack on a flag staff, beside it was stored a quantity of food and pails of water. The dancers and their Sarsi and Cree visitors sat inside the boundaries, the spectators occupied the wagons, or were stretched out under them, or remained standing, some being seated around the open end of the U space. Other smaller groups of spectators remained at some distance. [177]
>
> The paint on one man was as follows: Eye-brows blue, a blue blotch on his chin and a blue cross on either cheek. Another had his back in yellow with impress of two hands in red. [302]
>
> There were two distinct parts, as far as modes of dancing are concerned. In the first men danced alone, very much as the Shoshone in their ta'sayàge. In the second, women took part, standing either next to each other or, subsequently between two men. This second part was a round dance quite similar to the Cree dance of the Shoshone, except that the men did not clasp the women's shoulders, or touch them in any way. The women, for the most part, wore tall feather headdresses. At the end of the dance, that one of the women who had danced best and did not yet possess a headdress was selected for receiving one as a present. [292]
>
> Six drummers stood in the center. Several men forming a quadrant danced around them, the closed circle of men and women dancers being outside of this group. These dancers all moved to the left. Outside of their circle a single woman, armed with a long feathered wand, and accompanied by a very young child danced to the right. Her function was said to be to whip the young men not taking part, but the duty of pulling in dancers was performed, as far as I could see by one of the men.
>
> During the intermissions several men exhorted their fellow-tribesmen to give presents to their guests and by the end of the performance a considerable number of blankets were heaped up. The intervals were also employed to recount deeds of horse-stealing. [431]
>
> There was no apparent regularity (except in the women's headgear) either in paint or costume, but the regalia were rather lavish. Several feathered crooks were noted, one man carried a double-bent bow, mirrors were common, and some carried swords. Some danced practically naked, save for moccasins, breechclout, and ornaments, but fringed and beaded leggings and buckskin shirts were more common. [292]

There was no fixed number of members. The custom was for the society to elect its members. A messenger was then sent out who took the member-elect by the hand and led him in to a seat.[1] His regalia were con- 535 575

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[1] This is a significant fact not alone because it is unusual in Blackfoot organizations, but because this trait is typical for the Dakota from whom this dance spread to the Northern Plains tribes. [177]

535 575 tributed by other members. On the other hand, the Blackfoot transfer conception was recognized, because if a member individually called in an outsider and turned over to him his entire regalia, he thereby himself became an outsider and could not be a member until formally taken in again. It seems safe to guess that we have here a conflict between the traditional Blackfoot way of doing and the rules of the foreign grass dance organization. The active members were men over fifteen years of age but it is usual to regard the organization as a young men's affair.

[292] The regalia employed are almost identical with a Gros Ventre set in the Museum but instead of a "dog fork," the Piegan use a lance or stick. As has been noted the crow belt and the spreading hair headdress are used. These have been described by Kroeber.[1] A matter of special interest is that members formerly each had a miniature bundle, containing a feather or other small ornament which they cared for in the characteristic Blackfoot way. This was kept in a tiny cylindrical rawhide case of the type used for war [778] medicines. As noted in the preceding, there was one particular crow belt that was regarded as a medicine object and which is now owned by a Blood [292] [302] Indian. The face and body painting of the society is optional as is also the costume aside from headdress and crow belts. At present, it is customary to give a public ceremony at the sun dance for which a circle of wagons is made within the southern segment of the camp circle. Many meetings are held during the winter months but these are now almost entirely social affairs.

[778] [177] [121] The reference in Duvall's notes to the great care in handling the first regalia of this society, when such were treated as medicine bundles and the later abandonment of this practice under the tutorship of the Gros Ventre is a fine example of the Blackfoot tendency to adjust everything ceremonial to their scheme of individual ownership and transfer.

[173] So far no definite mythical origin for this ceremony has been encountered except that a Piegan named Three-bears heard that a negro half-breed Dakota was given the dance in a dream, when he saw some chickens dancing. The roosters wore crow belts and large combs, the latter now symbolized by the peculiar roached headdress. Perhaps this is an embryonic myth.

THE HORSE DANCE.

535 [726] [531] [231] A spectacular performance with mounted men goes by the name of horseback dance, or big dance. Its chief function seems to have been the arousal of courage and enthusiasm for war. Those who take part decorate

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[1] Kroeber, 271.

221 effective marshalling of considerable bodies of men. It was
224 for the great summer hunt that the various bands assembled
[361] in a tribal camp. As the spring progressed the bands joined
up into a few major groups, and finally at an appointed season
the whole tribe converged on the summer camp, where for a
few weeks intensive hunting was followed by feasting and
ceremonial.

224 The summer hunting depended essentially on surrounding
the buffalo with all the available strength of the tribe. In
the days before the horse, which made the surround so much
easier, large pounds were probably used in summer as well. The
popular picture of a party of Indians on horseback circling continuously
round a stampeding herd into which they shoot their
arrows represents the conditions of later days. When a herd
had been reported by the scouts a plan of attack was arranged
and the hunters were divided into a number of parties, which,
going by different routes, surrounded it from all sides. To
hem in the great herds more effectively the parched grass was
sometimes fired on the windward side. After they had acquired
horses the surround was far more easily effected and animals
which broke away could often be run down. Still later in the
[411] nineteenth century, when muskets were obtained by barter
[439] with traders who had come west across the Mississippi, hunting
[171] by smaller parties played an increasing part. But long before
this there had grown up a number of strict rules regulating
communal hunting which were found among almost every
tribe throughout the Plains. When a considerable herd was
in the vicinity individual hunting was strictly barred, and it
was a public duty to report it to the tribal leaders so that a
[575] communal hunt might be arranged. This regulation and
procedure was controlled by one or more of the men's societies.

361 For the tribal assembly in summer a great camp circle was
221 formed. The tipis were set up three or four deep in a circle of
perhaps half a mile in diameter with a wide opening on the
[621] east. Each band camped as a group in a traditional position
in the circle.

The Tribal Camp and the Men's Societies

575 Nearly every man among the Blackfoot was a member of
a society which performed dances and ceremonies, and also
shared as a group in the organization of the encampment and
migrations during the summer season. In each of the three
Blackfoot tribes there were several of these societies—from
nine to a dozen or more—which collectively embraced all the
men of the tribe and were known as 'All Comrades'. Each
[561] society had its own name, songs, dances and ranks. Its
[432] members were of about the same age and experience but they

575 did not remain in the same society throughout. Every four
561 years or so they transferred their rights of membership to
432 younger men and themselves obtained the rights to the society
next senior. These transfers, although generally made at the
same time during the summer camp, were, however, individual
transactions, the junior man making a payment of robes,
weapons or horses for the regalia and rank within the society
to the man whose place he wished to take. The latter then
belonged to no society until he proceeded to purchase membership
in the society above from an individual who was ready
to sell.

575 Thus, once every four years as a rule, all the men save the
561 oldest changed their society for the one next senior, while
the youths joined the lowest for the first time. The societies
as a whole, therefore, fell into a graded series, through which
each individual passed as through forms at school. As at
school, individuals did not always start at the bottom, and
one or two might skip a grade later on or stay behind beyond
[888] the normal period. Moreover, a few old men became honorary
members of the more junior societies and acted as instructors,
while one or two young men were admitted to the senior
societies to serve as messengers and helpers of the old and less
active majority.

In each of the three divisions of the Blackfoot the senior
societies corresponded closely with each other, with similar
names and relative order, but the number and names of the
junior societies showed greater differences, probably because
they were formed in more recent times after the three divisions
had separated or lost their former close contact. Among
the Piegan division the names and order of the societies at the
end of the last century were: Pigeons, Mosquitoes, Braves,
All-Brave-Dogs, Front Tails, Raven Bearers, Dogs, Kitfoxes,
Catchers, and, most senior, the Bulls. This system of graded
societies was a special development which had spread among
[171] some of the northern Plains tribes. Among other tribes the
societies remained at an earlier stage without official grading
or provisions for systematic transfer.

575 Apart from the ceremonies and dances, which probably
loomed largest in the members' eyes, the functions of the
societies were mainly to maintain order and co-operative action
in the camp during the communal hunt and migrations of the
summer seasons. For the rest of the year they were in abeyance
and the members were scattered among the various bands.
[622] When the bands assembled in the spring, the leaders of the
societies conferred with the band chiefs, who outlined their

● 575 proposals for camping sites and routes of travel, and selected
622 two or three of the societies to undertake the various duties
for that season. While these were nominally under the control
of the chiefs their duties were so well known that they generally
acted on their own initiative. The leaders of the chosen
societies pitched their tipis in a group in the centre of the
575 camp circle. The members patrolled the camp in turn during
[625] the night. They punished recalcitrant offenders against public
welfare by beating and destruction of property. Some went
[484] ahead when a march began to select the precise site of the next
camp, while others superintended the column of march. The
[224] societies were also mainly responsible for knowing the position
and movements of the buffalo herds and for organizing the
tribal hunts. In any emergency the chiefs could call upon one
[578] or more of them to deal with the situation. They could not,
however, act until they were called upon to do so. The changing
membership, coupled with the rivalry of one with another and
the short season of their activity, averted any tendency to the
permanent seizure of power by one or all of these societies.

The summer camp was the occasion for great ceremonial
[224] activity. A host of feasts and ceremonies followed the short
period of intensive hunting, in which large stores of food were
575 accumulated. With appropriate ritual and after due payment
778 of hide robes and horses, 'medicine bundles' of magical objects
425 and the formulas necessary for their effective use were often
transferred from one man to another. The societies performed
their special dances and rituals, and if the time for purchase and
transfer of society membership was due, great triple tipis were
built in which the lengthy ceremonies of exchange were held.
776 Finally came the great annual ceremony of the Sun Dance at
which individuals and the tribe as a whole sought power and
well-being in a protracted ritual that lasted a week or more.
361 The camp circle broke up shortly after this and the bands
621 moved away in the direction of their winter quarters, which
mostly lay farther to the west in the rougher foothill country.
With the disintegration of the camp there ended also any real
authority of the tribal leaders and councils.

Hides and Skins

237 The buffalo which so dominated the activities of the Blackfoot
supplied them with more than meat. Almost every part
[281] of the animal was used. The hide was dressed with the hair
left on to provide heavy winter robes; thinned and with the
hair removed, it was the material for shirts, leggings, moccasins,
tent covers, bags and receptacles of every kind. Cut into
[531] strips it furnished ropes and lines. The hair was used to stuff
pillows and later saddles, and to decorate garments, shields
and quivers.

778 them when you are going to transfer the medicine pipe." And
301 that is what we did, and now I am still wearing my shell necklace every day. It helps me to grow old.

778 I will give you an example of how much you have to sacrifice to follow our Indian religion. The medicine pipe bundle
796 was transferred to us in a house. It happened during the winter. When the ceremony of transfer was over, and the many horses and blankets had been paid to the former owners, my father told Firemaker: "Please initiate my daughter to carry the bundle on her back. She may have that need sometime in the future." We could not do anything with the bundle until we were initiated. Firemaker went through the proper ceremony, and they put the bundle on my back, with the heavy straps over my shoulders. My father brought a good team of horses to the door for Firemaker, just to pay him for this one particular initiation.

I have had a beaver bundle for many years. It is the biggest medicine bundle of all the ones among our people. There is a very long ceremony for its opening, and they used to sing several hundred songs during it. The men and the women all join together to sing these songs and to dance with the different parts of the bundle. We imitiate the bird and animal skins in them. We used to have a really happy time with this beaver ceremony, but now there is no one left who can lead it. I guess I have the last beaver bundle among the Bloods.

207 These things-that-sing [Blackfoot for radios and record
533 players], I dislike them very much. When they are shut off I can still hear them going in my head. Sometimes when I'm in my room, praying, I feel like I'm trying to outdo those things. My daughter gets up and shuts it off and tells the kids around the house: "When your grandmother is praying you don't want to drown her words with your music." Then they listen, and I can hear myself.

562 My daughter that nearly died—the one I put up my first
575 Sun Dance for—she was also a member of the Horns Society.

That is the Bloods' secret society for men, and she is one of 562
the few women that ever joined as a full member. Usually 575
women only join with their husbands, except those of us who
put up Sun Dances may not join at all. My husband was a
member without me, and he also made the pledge for our
daughter to join, when she was so sick. She took over the
membership bundle from Crop-Eared Wolf, our old head
chief. I made her a new beaded outfit of buckskin to wear
during the society's public dances. You couldn't even tell
that she was not a man. She was pretty slim, anyway.

Besides having a daughter join the Horns Society, my son 575
named Sacred Child joined it when he was only fourteen,
which is very young. We have also owned four different 778
painted lodges. They were all very old designs, handed down
from long ago. The Fish-Painted Lodge was given to one 342
of my grandchildren by my husband, before he died. He also
gave our Yellow-Painted Lodge to another grandchild. He
said: "I will give these to my grandchildren so they can be
put on small tipis and they can play in them," but he died
before this could be done.

THE STORY OF CATCHES-TWO-HORSES

Our Blackfoot relatives in Montana had a famous head 127
chief named White Calf, who died in Washington, D.C., while
on tribal business in 1903. He had eight wives and many children. One of these wives was Catches-Two-Horses, who was
born around the mid-eighteen hundreds. In 1923 she gave
the following story to Walter McClintock, from whose notes
I quote her:

"I was seven years old when I became the wife of White 582
Calf. My older sister was already his wife. I remember my
age, because I had lived one year with my husband before

tribe. Among her companions were some of the same men 701
who had been on her first war raid, including her cousin/
brother, with whom she was spending a lot of her time. This 462
time, instead of wearing her buckskin dress, she had on a new 726
suit of warrior's clothing, including leggings, shirt, and breechcloth. [714]
She also carried a fine rawhide war shield, that had
been given to her by the man who married the widow woman
who had moved into the orphan household some time before.

The second raid turned out quite successfully, although one member of the party was killed. They captured a herd of over six hundred horses, and killed a number of the enemy during a fight which followed their discovery during the raiding. The young woman was shot at, and would have been killed, but the two arrows both struck her shield, instead of her body.

The next time that the tribe gathered for the annual medicine 701
lodge ceremony, the young woman was asked to get up
with the other warriors and tell the people about her war 462
exploits. Other women had done so, but they had usually 796
gone in the company of their husbands and had not accomplished 555
such fearless deeds as she. When she finished her
stories the people applauded with drum beats and war
whoops, as was the custom. Then the head chief of the tribe,
a man named Lone Walker, is said to have honored her in a
way never known to have been done for a woman. After a [553]
short talk and a prayer, he gave her a new name—Running
Eagle—an ancient name carried by several famous warriors
in the tribe before her. In addition, the Braves Society of [575]
young warriors invited her to become a member, which honor
she is said to have accepted as well.

From that point on, Running Eagle, the young woman 701
warrior, became the leader of the war parties she went with, 462
no longer a follower. I cannot say how many such war raids
she went on, nor how many horses she captured, nor enemies
she killed. There are many different legends about them.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

to pray. Since then I have been praying steadily, and up to 778
this day I am still praying.

Sometime after we got this medicine pipe bundle for the 782
first time we were transferred a large tipi with a painted de- 342
sign. It came from the Blackfoot division. It was the Yellow- 532
Otter-Painted Lodge. Later we also got the Half-Red-Painted
Lodge and the Yellow-Painted Lodge. Along with the painted 778
lodge I got as a child, I have owned four sacred lodges in my lifetime. Each of them has its own powers and its own story, and I can call on them in my prayers and get help that way. That is our religious belief.

Mokakin and I have also joined the Horns Society several 575 ●
times. First, we had that membership bundle called Has-a-
Rattle, which is one of the leading ones. These membership 778
bundles come from long ago. We went around with this bundle for several years, and I treated it good, too, just like our pipe. Then we gave up our medicine pipe to another family
that made a pledge for it, just like we did. Each time it was [425]
transferred, the new owners gave up their best horses, wagons, sometimes cattle, blankets, money, and other valued property. That was to show how sincere they are in taking over such a
sacred responsibility. In the past only the leading chiefs and [554]
their families took care of the medicine pipe bundles. My father's father was a leading chief in the old days, and he became one of the main medicine pipe men in the tribe.

Backside-to-the-Fire Medicine Pipe changed families sev- 778
eral times, then we made a vow to take it back again. The
first time we got it from Black Forehead and his wife, and this 425
second time we got it from Day Rider and his wife. After some time we passed it on to Fred Weasel Fat and his wife. This second time when we got the pipe there were not so many old-timers left for the ceremony, so it was shorter than the first.

In our old age we took Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe once

778 more, though we didn't have it long before our son, Frank,
425 asked for it. We transferred it to him and his wife, but I stayed
with them as the one to take care of the tripod, which is a
801 sacred duty. Counting this last duty, I actually belonged with
that medicine pipe four times, which is a sacred number in
our customs. It is based on the four worldly directions and
the number of seasons in a year.

778 Not long after our son had this pipe it was transferred to
our grandson, Frederick Weasel Head, and just lately it was
transferred to another of our sons, Moses. While some other
medicine pipes of the Bloods have been sold to museums, this
778 one is still around. When people are sick or they are in need
755 of help they can call on it for strength and they can pledge to
dance with it, the next time it is opened. They have to make
[425] payments of property to do that, and if they are able to make a
lot of payments then they can just have the bundle transferred
to them, so they can look after it for a time.

575 In the past there were several men's societies with different
178 names, but together they were called the All-Friends Society.
The only ones still going, of these, are the Horns and the
Brave Dogs. These societies used to be the policemen of the
tribe. They enforced the tribal laws and the chiefs' orders. The
Brave Dogs have just recently been revived, and the Horns
almost died out a few years ago. A younger group came along
to take the memberships over, just in time. Now that younger
group depends on my husband, Mokakin, to teach them what
to do. He is now their grandfather.

575 The Horns are the secret society for the men, and the Moto-
kiks are the secret society for women. I belonged to this
[778] society for many years. I had one of the leading memberships,
[292] to which belonged a bundle with what we call a snake head-
dress, which I only took out and wore for certain sacred
ceremonies. In recent years a younger group of women has
taken over this society. Like Mokakin with the Horns, I serve

575 as the adviser to these newer members. I am their grandmother. This is how Mokakin and I have been rewarded for our faith in the holy ways of our people. I have taken part in all these ancient ceremonies so often that I would be able to lead them all, if our customs didn't require men to be the ceremonial leaders.

PAULA WEASEL HEAD'S COMMENTS ON LIFE

829 We old people of the Bloods are very disturbed about the
behavior of the young people. There is very little respect left
853 today. A lot of us think the reason for this is that a lot of
829 young people were bottle-fed. The milk they were raised on
came from cows, so the young people of today have taken on
the nature of cows. You know that cows only think of themselves, even though they like to run in bunches. Many of the young people are just the same.

829 Yes, I think there is still hope for them to change, in the
future. . . . If they will listen to good leaders, and learn to
have respect for all things, not just those that are theirs, and
781 if they will pray. Praying is what has brought us old people
through life. We've all gone through hard times. We've all done our share of bad things. But through our prayers and faith in the Creator we get together again and we try hard to live right.

A few years ago Mokakin and I celebrated our fiftieth wedding anniversary. Even the government leaders sent us cards. We have had a long life together—good times and bad times. We have grown wise from the experiences we've gone through.

796 Our sacred transfers are the things that kept us the strong-
est in life. We believed in our religion, just like our old people
425 handed it down to us. For every important thing they did in
778 life there was a transfer—an initiation. Somebody that has

796 872 876 The nuns had a hard time in school to keep us from talking Blackfoot to each other. So they told us that if we spoke only English for one week they would bring us to the Sun Dance. Oh, my, you should have heard us for the next week—nothing but English wherever we went. We made it for the whole time.

796 The day came for us to go to the Sun Dance and we started walking. Some ways out from the camps there was a coulee, and just before we crossed the coulee the nuns told us to sit down. That is where they brought us to the Sun Dance. We hardly even recognize anybody, let alone visit with them. Here we had thought they would take us right into the camp.

796 ● 575 535 In those days the Sun Dance lasted a long time—a month or more—because they had a lot of societies still active, and a lot of ceremonies to go through. The societies would take turns dancing on different days. There were the Pigeons, Crazy Dogs, Braves, Crow Carriers, and the Horns. The Horns took four days for their dances, and so did the Motokiks, which was made up of women. Then at the end of that they would have a day or two of the Parted Hairs Society—powwow dancing that everybody took part in.

796 778 In those days there was a lot of activity with medicine pipes, too. As many as four might be transferred during the time of the Sun Dance. Some of the owners opened their medicine pipe bundles to have a dance and give tobacco out. Sometimes an owner will want to give up his medicine pipe bundle, and no one makes a vow to take it. The owner will gather some old medicine pipe men and they will open the bundle during the night. Early the next morning they will go to the tipi of one who has a lot of property. He can afford the expensive transfer ceremony. Maybe he has a special horse that the owner of the bundle wants. He will be sleeping when the group arrives. They will be carrying the medicine pipe and other parts of the bundle. The first thing he will know is when the leader of the group gives the war cry, and the rest join in.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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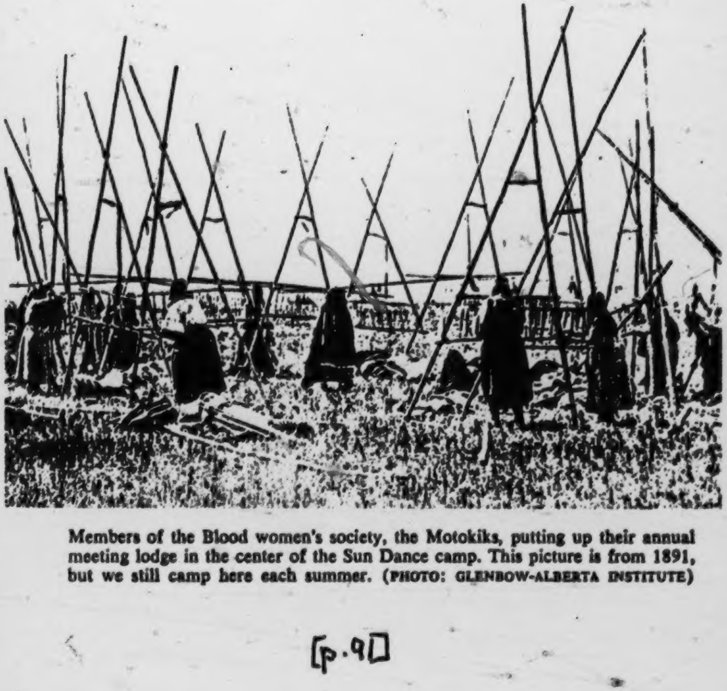

Members of the Blood women's society, the Motokiks, putting up their annual meeting lodge in the center of the Sun Dance camp. This picture is from 1891, but we still camp here each summer. (PHOTO: GLENBOW-ALBERTA INSTITUTE)

[p.9]

252 lot of women by that time did. Now and then she served
canned fruit or tomatoes, but it was always a special treat.
Sometimes she also had rice, beans, or macaroni. But mostly
she cooked in the old Indian way, at which she was a real
expert.

The tipi would get very warm from her cooking fire, especially during those hot summer days when there was no wind.
But it wasn't so hot down near the ground, where she sat.
353 That was the work area, and behind her was the visiting and
sleeping area. She didn't have wall-to-wall carpets, like many
352 tipis do nowadays. You can't do that when you have an open
fire. She just had some calf skins and cowhides around the
beds, especially at the head of their own bed. These were
778 tanned with the hair on. They had their holy bags hanging
from the tripods at the head of their bed. No one asked them
352 what was inside these, and no one was allowed to touch them
● [575] or get in front of them. My grandfather was the leader of the
Horns Society and my grandmother was a Motoki in the
women's society. They had a holy bundle for each society,
along with their other bags of doctoring herbs and other medicines. Then their trunk was at the head of the bed, also, and
that was where they kept their other holy articles. Since my
grandfather was an Indian doctor he kept his medicines close
by.

The old man also kept his smoking stuff by the medicine
276 bags at the head of his bed. He usually had a couple of pipes,
with black stone bowls, and some other things that rested on
his tobacco board—a big, square board which was used for
cutting and mixing the herbs and tobacco that he used for a
smoking mix when his guests came. The board was decorated
with brass tacks.

353 Between their bed and the fire, in the center, was their
778 altar, where they had cleared off the grass and scraped the
earth in a certain shape. That's where they made incense
every time they were going to pray or take out their medicine

at the knees and occasionally shouting, to help and inspire the 535
dancing men. One medicine pipe bundle has had the unusual 796
custom that women are allowed to dance with its contents as
well as the men—one taking turns with the other. This is the 778
Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe which has belonged to Paula Weasel [562]
Head and is discussed elsewhere.

Another tradition common to all medicine pipe bundles 562
also allows women to dance. This happens if a woman is near 778
death and she or a relative calls on the powers of a certain 755
sacred pipe to rescue her. If she survives, then she is allowed
to dance with the sacred pipe, or another part of its bundle. 535
However, her dance is very subdued and serious, compared
to the general medicine pipe dancing done by the men. It is
considered a very special blessing, for which the woman and
her relatives are expected to make generous gifts of blankets
and other goods to the bundle's keepers. This custom is still
followed today. For many women it has been their only opportunity
to be so close to one of the sacred tribal articles.

The beaver bundles of my ancestors had ceremonies even 778
more involved than those of the medicine pipes. These bundles 796
contained the preserved skins of nearly every kind of bird 535
and animal that lived in the country of our tribe. Each of these [237]
skins had one or more songs that was sung during parts of
the ceremony. At the same time participants danced with the
skins and imitated the bird or animal with symbolic movements.
Some of these dances were done by the men, some by
the women, and several involved both. One of the concluding
dances symbolized the mating of buffalo. Two at a time, the
men and women dancers paired off and did their best to imitate
the actions of wild buffalo, much to the delight of the rest
of the crowd watching.

Another ceremonial dance in which women imitate the 575
actions of buffalo is done by the ancient society for women, 796
the Motokiks. I have heard that this society was once active 535
among all the divisions of the Blackfoot Nation, but today it 562
functions only among the Blood. [184]

575 functions only among the Bloods. Every year, during the Sun
796 Dance encampment, the members of the group put up a special
535 lodge inside the camp circle. For four days they have their
562 meetings and religious ceremonies, most of which are private.
[533] Men take part during only certain of these ceremonies,^ especially
the public dances, when four men with rattles sing the
778 dance songs. The members^ wear ancient headdresses that they
[575] keep inside their medicine bundles throughout most of the
year. These, and the Natoas used in the Sun Dance, are the
[292] only medicine bundles belonging specifically to women, and
they are very highly regarded by all the tribe.

535 When the days of war parties and scalp-taking ended, in the later eighteen hundreds, the old Scalp Dance evolved into a social dance known as the Circle Dance, or the Long-Tail Dance. It was a slow dance in which the people joined hands and arms and moved sideways in large circles. Men, women, and children all took part, but from looking at old photos it seems that the dancers were most often rows of women. This dance is still performed, though at a slightly quicker pace, under the current name of Round Dance. It is the native version of a "slow dance," and is often requested when the fast dancers are about worn out.

Another popular dance for both men and women is called the Owl Dance. It has a lively hard-soft drumbeat to which the people generally dance in couples, following each other in a circling or waving line around the dance floor. Some fancy-dressed men follow this dance alone, while others fol-
[834] low with a woman in each arm. Even the elders seem to enjoy
this dance a lot, although when they were young tribal customs
frowned on the public display of intimacy necessary to
[177] do it properly. Like most of the new Indian-style dances done
by the Bloods, this one was introduced from other tribes.

535 Dances have always been important in the courting life of
584 my grandmothers. They were among the few occasions in the
past when young men and young women were allowed to be

^ [i.e., of the women's society, Motokiks--Analyst]

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
.Blood

539 with them he spit over his shoulders, and right away a lake formed behind them. The bear was delayed in going around this water. As she started to catch up again the powerful brother threw back his porcupine-tail hairbrush and right away a dense thicket formed behind them. When the mean bear got through that they all decided to climb a tall tree. The mean bear stood at the bottom and said: "Well, now I will kill you all for sure." Then she started shaking the tree with all her strength.

Before long four of the brothers had fallen out of the tree and were lying on the ground, dazed. The bear was just about to go over and kill them when the powerful brother took an arrow from his quiver and shot her between the eyes. Right away it turned back into their sister, but she was dead. The powerful brother felt so bad about having killed his own sister that he proposed to the others to go somewhere far away. They asked where they might go to, and for an answer he told them all to close their eyes. Then he took another of his arrows and he shot far into the sky. When they opened their eyes back up they were all floating in the sky.

The old people say that this was the start of that part of the
821 Great Bear constellation known as the Big Dipper. In Blackfoot it is called the Seven Brothers. They say that the four brothers who fell from the tree are the four lowest stars of the Big Dipper. The little sister is said to have grown up and married one of the stars of the Little Dipper. They say she is the bright one, known as the North Star, which the old people call "the star that never moves." In the old days they used it as a nighttime compass.

539 *THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED A DOG*

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They say this is a true story, because it explains the origins of the ancient Blackfoot warrior society called the Dogs.

20: Hungry Wolf   I-4,5   (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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It happened a long, long time ago, before the people had ever seen horses. They were still using dogs to carry their belongings from one place to the next.

There was a pretty young woman who was the daughter of a chief. Many young men wanted to marry her, but she did not like the way they went about it, so she remained single. Her best friend was a big old dog that belonged to her uncle. She often borrowed this dog and took him along to help her carry wood and water. The dog liked her and was always very obedient. One day she told him: "I wish you were a young man, then I would marry you."

That night the young woman woke up to find someone crawling into bed with her. The man covered her mouth so she couldn't scream, but otherwise he treated her very gently. They were together for some time, during which she had the foresight to take some charcoal from the fire and mark upon the man's back and hair so that he didn't notice. She was surprised that he had such soft, fine hair.

The next day there happened to be a big dance, so the young woman very carefully studied the men to see if one of them had black marks from her charcoal. She was eager to find out who the man was, though she dared not say anything about it to her father for fear of being accused of inviting the man into her couch that night. She saw no one with black marks, and turned back to her own lodge feeling sorry, when her uncle's big dog came up and licked her hand. It so happened that he had soot marks on his head and shoulders, and for a moment the young woman had a real fright. But then she thought to herself: "It cannot be this dog, for I know that I was with a human."

That night the same man came into the bed of the young woman. While he was there she took one of his middle fingers and bit it very hard, so that her teeth went through to the bone. There was another big dance that following day, and the young woman looked carefully to see which man had an

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

539 575 injured hand. Since her father was the chief, she made a special request, which her father passed out. She wanted all the dancing men to raise their hands high in the air as they went around the circle. They did this, but she could find none with an injury like the one she was looking for.

That afternoon, as she went down for water and food, her uncle's big dog came running to join her. Right away she noticed that he limped, and when she stopped down to look at his paw she found one of the toes very injured. So she looked at the dog and said: "It is you who has been coming into my bed at night!" The dog immediately turned into a young man who said to the girl: "It is not my fault. You are the one who wished that I was a young man, so that is what I have become."

Now the girl was greatly troubled by her discovery. The people would know that her lover was a stranger, and if they found out that he was actually a dog she would be disgraced. However, she knew that she must keep her word to marry him, and, besides, he was a very handsome and kind young man. Together they decided to run away and live elsewhere.

That evening, when everyone was in bed, the girl took extra moccasins, food, and supplies, and she left the lodge of her parents. Out in the brush her lover was already waiting, still in the shape of a young man. When morning came the father of the girl sent an announcer through the camp asking if anyone had seen her. They wondered where she had gone, especially after her uncle announced that his big travois dog was also missing.

Several years went by, and the girl became very lonesome for her parents and the rest of her people. Finally she and her husband decided to make a visit to the camp without letting anyone know their true identities. They showed up with their two children and a number of dogs that hauled their belongings. They came to the lodge of the girl's uncle and announced

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

themselves, and he invited them to stay there. The girl wore her hair so that most of her face remained covered, and no one suspected anything.

However, the uncle wondered about some peculiar things done by his guests. When he asked how it was that they spoke the Blackfoot language he was told that their tribe spoke that tongue as well. He had never heard another tribe speak Blackfoot. Also, whenever meat was being fed, the visiting man always asked to be excused, taking his piece of meat with him before it could be cooked. One day one of the uncle's children followed him and found him eating the meat raw, out behind the tipi. Finally, one morning the uncle woke up earlier than the others and found the visitor still asleep, with one of his feet sticking out of the covers. The foot was like that of a dog.

When the young couple was confronted by the uncle the husband told him, "Yes, I used to be your big dog, and this woman is your brother's daughter. I have a lot of power and that is how we came to be man and wife." The young woman went to the lodge of her parents and explained everything to them as well. Her parents were glad to see her back and to find out that they had grandchildren. They respected the power of the dog and said they were glad to have him for a son-in-law, so the couple set up their own lodge in the camp.

However, when word got around the camp, some of the young men became jealous that the dog-man had such a good-looking wife. They stirred up the people, and soon the young couple was being subjected to rude comments and other abuse. The girl's father tried to stop it, but the people only got worse. Finally the young couple packed up their lodge and moved it away from the camp. Then the man started barking like a dog, until all the dogs in the camp had answered him and came running. He became the chief of the dogs, and then the people had no one to haul their belongings.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

539 575 Some of the young men who had started the trouble came over and said they would kill the chief of the dogs. But the young man gave orders to the dogs, who attacked them, and those who were not killed ran back to the camps. At that the people all sent over their apologies and promised to treat the dog-man and his family with respect if he would let them have back their dogs. He agreed, and moved his family back to where they had been, in the camp circle.

When the dog-man grew old he gave his son his special dog-power. The son became a great chief and he used the power to form the Dog Society, with a group of fellow young men. This society was carried on until sometime after the war days were ended, when there was no more use for it, and it was disbanded. The dog-man's son was a renowned fast runner. His daughter became a holy woman noted for her kindness and good household ways.

539 *THE UNFAITHFUL WIFE*

Long ago there was a hunter who had a great deal of mysterious power. Every day he went hunting for all kinds of wild game, leaving his wife at home to take care of the household. His only trouble was that he didn't trust his wife alone, and he started to become jealous. He decided to use his power to find out if his wife was being untrue.

The next morning he told his wife that he was going on a long hunt from which he would not return for two or three days. His wife said she would fix him a big meal before he left, and she went out to gather more wood and bring some more water. While she was out her husband took a certain part of a wild animal and tied it in a knot, because that was part of his medicine. He put the knotted piece under the bed where

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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A woman of the sacred Motokiks society, wearing the special headdress of buffalo horns and feathers that was her society insignia. She has an eagle-bone whistle in her mouth, which was blown during the society dances. Her name was Makah, or Shorty, and she was the sister of my great-grandfather Heavy Head. (PHOTO: EDWARD S. CURTIS, GOOD MEDICINE FOUNDATION)

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[p. 169]

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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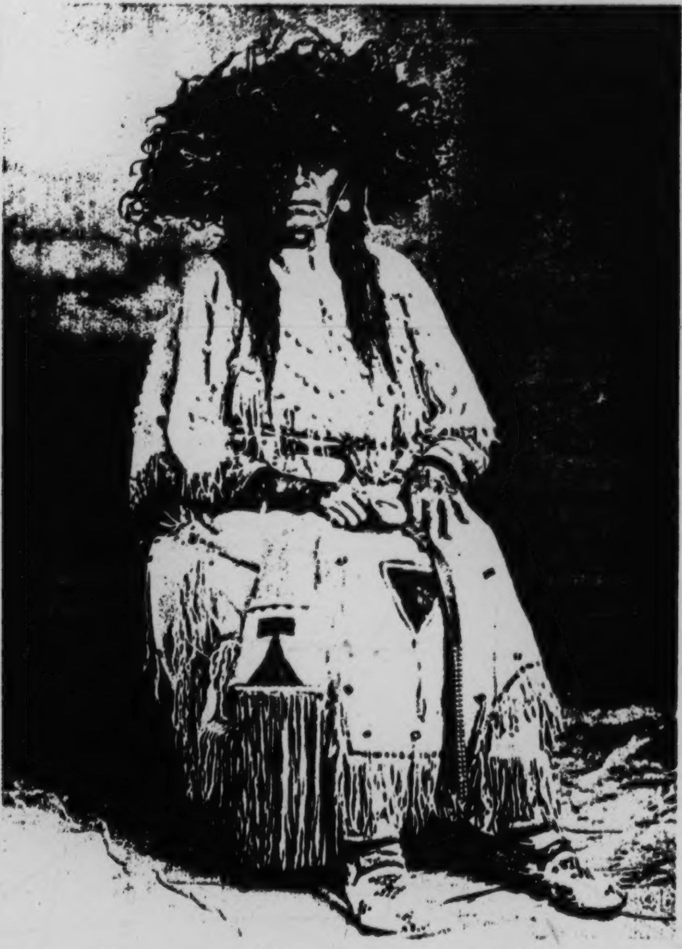

A member of the Motokiks society wearing her sacred headdress and holding a beaded bag that contains her ceremonial pipe. The lady's name was Snake People Woman, and the headdress indicates she was one of the Scabby Bull members of her society. During the society dances she was required to act like a mad buffalo bull, snorting and kicking at others. (PHOTO: NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF CANADA)

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[p. 179]

within the tipi where the Bundle is kept. Peace 778
and quiet should be maintained around such a 784
tipi at all times. If someone calls from outside and does not come in, we must step outside to speak with him. Mokakin, himself a former Medicine Pipe Owner, was well aware of this rule.

"Oki, OmachKinna," I said to him, as he 576
came through the doorway. I used a standard 574
greeting of respect to an older man.

"Oki, Natosina ki SikskiAki," said Mokakin in return. He glanced around our tipi and said, "It's all fixed up now," giving an approving nod, then shaking his head to the side with pleasure. We felt happy and proud that our traditional Ways gladdened the old man's thoughts.

"Do you have time to sit and have a smoke and some tea?" I asked hesitantly. I knew that Mokakin was already serving as advisor, as grandfather, to the soon-to-be Horns. I wasn't sure how long he had for a visit with us.

No sooner had I asked the question than we heard Ponah's strong voice call out, "PitachPikis!" And for insurance she followed with, "Mokakin!" Knowing that there would be no excuse for not hearing his wife call at least one of his names, he apologetically mumbled something and hurried out. One of the future members of the Horns was probably waiting to be advised on some ceremonial matter. We knew that Mokakin would spend as much time at our place as he could, and we looked forward to his later visits.

Behind Mokakin's and Ponah's tipi was the 575
tipi of their son, Charlie Weaselhead. His parents 561
had given him the new white tipi to honor his [431]
joining the Horns Society. His joining meant a lot to them. They had been members in the past.

While sitting quietly in our tipi, we suddenly 533
became aware of a gathering of voices, soon fol- [534]
lowed by a few beats on a large bass drum. The [431]
camp was about to be entertained by "tobacco singers," a group of friends who sit before the door of a lodge and sing until the lodge owner

Weather Dancer among the South Piegan division 123
of our People. Weather Dancers from various [793]
divisions often join together for Sun Dances.

Another of the Old Man's spiritual duties 793
was to serve as advisor to the Horns Society. 575
Among our People he was considered to have the 561
greatest knowledge of the society's songs and
ceremonies, having held seven different memberships
in the society, including that of leader. The
recent transfer was the tenth for which he had
served as advisor. In his younger days, the Old
Man also belonged to the now-extinct Brave Dogs
and Pigeons societies.

As always, it was an honor to have the Old 574
Man visit our home. His presence inspired us 123
with the knowledge that it was still possible to
find spiritual satisfaction with many of our Old
Ways in this modern age. The strength of his old
age let us find Power in his Teachings. With each
visit he gave us more of his Good Spirits.

We sat in silence for a few moments after 576
the Old Man settled next to me. It is not proper 574
to ply a guest with many questions as soon as he
arrives; nor does a guest usually begin a lengthy
conversation until he has learned what mood is
current in the lodge he has just entered. During
that period of silence, SikskiAki came in, followed
by Mokakin. As an old *Ninamskan*, or Pipe Man,
he was given the second place of honor in the
tipi, to the left of the Old Man.

Mokakin is learning to carry out two of the 575
Old Man's duties. During his past memberships 561
with the Horns he became acquainted with many [867]
of that society's functions, and is now looked
upon as an advisor by the new members. In addition, 759
Mokakin is a successful doctor of several
minor physical ailments. He was given, in dreams [787]
this Power and shown the plants to use while he
was sleeping near some old open-air burials in a
secluded part of the reserve. His dreams came unexpectedly,
while sleeping alone during a wintertime
trapping expedition.

While SikskiAki served lunch to our three 778
574

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Late in the afternoon those members of the 796
Pigeon Society [who were able to relate personal 431
exploits of bravery] formed a line, standing. Two
of them rode a single horse; the others were all [575]●
dismounted. They began to sing and approached [555]
the A-Kax and entered, then took a position in
two rows; the riders rode their horses once com-
pletely around the enclosure, passing at the back
between the banner [Weather Dancers' booth]
and centre pole. Four Tom-toms [hand drums] [534]
and the same number of rattles were obtained for
music. While the Pigeons danced and sang, rela-
tives brought in piles of goods which were de-
posited at the feet of the dancer related to the
giver. These presents were all gathered up by an
old man and distributed to other people. Eagle
Ribs [the uncle of our Mokakin] was taken by
the arm and led out to the centre and left stand-
ing there. Pails of food were now brought in; gen-
erally a row of 4 or more pails were strung upon a
stick and carried in by two squaws, each taking an
end of the stick. Squaws [a foreign word to us, [601]
even though Wilson uses it often; a man calls his
wife Aki, "woman," or Nitokeman, "my wife"]
always put down the pails, and either left the
enclosure or joined the crowd of women at the
south and near the entrance. The food was dis-
tributed to all the people who had seated them-
selves inside, with bowls in front of them. Next [276]
pipes were filled, presented to an old man, blessed
and smoked. They then danced three times with-
out changing their positions in rows. Bob Tailed [792]
Chief [then a young member of the Pigeon So-
ciety—he later became one of our holy leaders]
went and placed a stick at the feet of an old man,
which meant that he had given him a horse, at
which the old man stood up and made a long
blessing over the liberal young man, whose wife
came forward and shared it with him. A 4th dance
was indulged in at close of which they danced out.
Time was 8:10.

The Pigeon Society was composed of young 575
men who had few exploits to their record, and so 561
796

they were the first to perform in the Medicine 575●
Lodge. This was an opportunity for the societies 561
to inspire the People, as well as themselves, with 796
their ceremonies and comradeship. And it was an
honor for members to donate food to the gathered [431]
People, who were given good thoughts [556]
through the gesture.

After the presentation, the People were asked 796
to return to their lodges and spend the night
quietly. There was to be no noise, especially near [784]
the Medicine Lodge. The Weather Dancers were [791]
fasting and meditating on the Holy Powers
created by the sacred encampment. [785]

THE SELF-TORTURE CEREMONIES

Another group to participate in the Medicine 796
Lodge ceremony came to fulfill their own vows. 782
These were men who had made vows of physical
sacrifice in exchange for spiritual help from Sun. 785
Such vows were usually made during dangerous situations, perhaps on the hunt or warpath, when death seemed imminent. A vowing man might call out to Sun, "Help me, O holy Sun, my Father, and let me see you again with happiness. Give me your strength so that I may survive this danger, and I will give myself to you. I will help my People to remember your Holy Power by performing the physical torture dance during the next Holy Lodge ceremony of our People." Fulfilling such vows was truly a Sun Dance, and inspiring to those who watched.

WILSON'S OBSERVATIONS: 1892

The last time self-torture vows were fulfilled dur- 796
ing a Blood Medicine Lodge ceremony was in 785
1892. The days of warpaths were already past. Al- 657
though our young men still went on regular horse
raids then, there was seldom any fighting, even [178]
when the raiders were caught. Government agents [721]
knew that the self-torture ceremony inspired a [182]
spirit of adventure, which they opposed. Follow- [177]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 37A]

[P. 36-B]

ing the 1892 Okan, the agents sent word to the 796
People that participants in self-torture would 785
henceforth be jailed. They aroused outside back- 657
ing for their move by calling the ceremonies
"heathen rituals." The missionaries hoped that [177]
this ban would lead to an end of the Medicine [797]
Lodge ceremony itself. However, Medicine
Lodges continued to be built. Self-torture vows
were carried out in places that were not so public.

In writing and with his camera, Wilson re- 796
corded the details of the last ceremonies to fulfill 785
self-torture vows:

> *Next day nothing occurred until afternoon,* [575]
> *when some members of two Societies, "Crazys"*
> [Wilson's own name for the Crazy Dogs, who
> were not actually crazy in any way] *and "Black*
> *Soldiers," came out of their rows. At this, Sitting* [292]
> *Bull's son entered in the paint garb of the "self-*
> *torture" as follows: no clothing except breach*
> *cloth and a blanket wrapped about him. A wreath* [824]
> *of wild sage about the head, a ring of same about*
> *each arm and ankle. Painted with white dirt from* [302]
> *head to foot. He sat down upon his blanket and*
> *presently some one placed a pillow and quilt on*
> *the ground upon which he laid down. A man* 796
> *assisted by others put a skewer in each breast and* 785
> *a 3rd* [behind] *one shoulder. When he arose to* 304
> *his feet a shield was fastened to the skewer in the*
> *back and the ropes from top of centre pole, to the*
> *others* [on his breasts]. *He walked up and em-* [782]
> *braced the centre pole and silently prayed. Then*
> [he] *went back until the ropes tightened and,*
> *reaching around behind, grasped the shield, tore*
> *it from his flesh with a jerk and cast it upon the*
> *ground. Giving a yell, he next caught hold of one*
> *of the ropes in each hand and gave them a couple*
> *of good jerks which pulled the skin out from his*
> *breast several inches each jerk. Then he threw* [534]
> *back his full weight upon the ropes, having first*
> *inserted a whistle in his mouth, the string of it*
> *depending from around the neck. The drums* [535]
> *started up and the boy danced in time to their* [533]

[p. 38-A]

beating; he danced in a curve about the north side 796
of the centre pole, blowing the whistle also in
time and looking up at the top of the lodge, 785
throwing more and more of his weight upon the 304
ropes [until] his body was almost at right angles [535]
to the ropes, tied far above him. As his weight
seemed insufficient to break loose the skin [533]
through which the skewers were, a man sitting
near quickly got up, threw his arms around the
young fellow's body, pulled backwards and tore
him loose. He lay upon the ground while one of
the attendants [not a priest or a doctor] cut away
the torn end[s] of skin which were handed to
him. He then arose to his feet and buried the said 796
piece of skin in the loose dirt at foot of sacred 785
pole, took off all the sage ornaments and hung
them upon the offerings of the sacred pole, and
went home. A young man named A-suc [Goes to
War] was also put through the torture and I suc-
ceeded in getting a pretty fair photo of him, an
instantaneous one taken as he was on the jump in
his dance. When these young men are having the
incisions made in their breasts, they often whisper
to the operator stating how they wish the cuts to
be, deep so that there will be difficulty in getting
loose, or shallow cuts that will be easily broken.
Those who do the cutting make it a rule to do the [554]
reverse to what they are requested, thus they re-
ward the stout-hearted who say "cut deep" and
punish the cowards. The Ats-Knax Society [Itski- [575]
naiks, or Horns] furnished the music for this day. [533]
They sat at the back of the enclosure upon the
South side of the banner; the other, or North
Side of the banner was occupied by the women
who "made the lodge" and others.

Calf Tail and Goes to War were the first two dancers to fulfill their vows to suffer before the People, as just described. They had promised to "give themselves to Sun." Thus, the long rawhide ropes were attached to their breasts so that as the flesh opened, the blood nearest their hearts would flow upon the ropes. From there the Spirit

[p.38-B]

showing mounted men as distinct from those who 796
had fought on foot. The former would thrust a 536
stick between his legs with the end trailing on the
ground and ride it about the arena exactly like we 537
used to in our boyhood. This absurd pantomime 555
was performed numbers of times by middle-aged Indians who in their ordinary life were most circumspect in matters of behaviour. Several hours were spent thus, until the last warrior had related his glorious deeds. Much ammunition was shot off and all kinds of trophies were captured from bogus enemies. Each here began his story by mounting a horse and riding it around the inside of the sacred lodge, singing his war song and shouting. He would then dismount, hand the horse to someone outside, and enter upon the details of his past.

Thus ended the second day of activities in- [575] ●
side of the Medicine Lodge. The Crazy Dogs and the Black Soldiers, both leading societies of brave warriors, have always had a great many exploits to relate during the Medicine Lodge ceremonies. Two more societies were to tell and perform their stories during the next several days. Meanwhile, the camp was silent again.

On the next day, Sunday, no one entered the structure until late, 4 or 5 o'clock in the evening [the Weather Dancers were inside, of course]; [then entered] the principal heroes in the society called "Crow Carriers." Their performances were much like the former, and one used a wagon to illustrate how he had killed some Cree he found travelling in a cart. This exploit could not be acted inside the O-Kon, so he and those who assisted him went outside to the front or East and performed the first part of the tragedy, which ended after a retreat inside the sacred lodge. In this case the boaster took by main force a gun from the hands of a living foe and afterwards slew
him with a knife. A man, Sum-a-ke, appeared in 796
the torture paint and, after sitting on the ground

A man, Sum-a-ke, appeared in
the torture paint and, after sitting on the ground 796
for a few minutes, was punctured as usual and 785
*fastened to the ropes. I also took his photo but
the Sun was so low that the picture did not turn
out as well as the one the day before.*

The next day of the ceremonies turned out, 796
unexpectedly, to be the last day. Two unrelated 578
incidents caused camp to break: an undisclosed
dispute among the Horns and an unidentified
charge of adultery.

Monday. It was expected that the "Horned [575] ●
*Ones" would enter today but a dispute arose
among [them], one of their members taking
down his lodge, which formed half of the fraternal
abode, and moving from camp. The night before,* [694]
*a man accused one of the religious women of
the tribe of adultery [this was a separate affair* [793]
*from the Horns dispute]. He claimed he had seen
her at dusk indulging in immoral conduct with a
certain young man, the son of a prominent chief.
This caused a great commotion in camp, which
coupled with the trouble in the Horned Society,
had the effect of breaking up the camp, all dispersing
to the different villages up and down the
river.*

It may be added that the criminal affair mentioned, 793
which was for a long time the one interesting 578
topic of tribal talk, had a somewhat impressive 627
*ending. Sentiment was divided in regard to
the guilt or innocence of the woman, who declared
that her accuser was blasting her character
because she had repelled improper advances of his
own. She had hitherto bourne a good reputation;
in fact she had filled positions in religious rites
that only those who solemnly swore to their virtue
can occupy. The people therefore were loath to
misjudge the woman. The old men said, "Time* [784]
*will tell who speaks the truth; death inside of a
year is the penalty which all women pay who
make false vows; the young man commits an
equally serious crime who accuses a good woman
falsely, therefore the liar in this case must die
before the end of a year. It is not a long time to
wait [and see] which of them will it be." Strange
to relate, the woman died in childbirth in January
following above incident.*

The disagreements that brought the Okan of 796
1892 to an end did not affect most of the People.
They went back home with the Good Spirits that
had presided over the holy ceremonies. Disagree- [578]

(Text Continued on Page 41-A] [178]
(p. 40-A]

had undergone the self-torture ceremony. With 785
some variations in the details, their stories are still 796
told whenever our Old People get together to talk
about the past. The mentioned mix-up with the
Mounted Police will be more fully described later
in a story about old Calf Robe, who was the object of the mix-up.

THE 1908 OKAN, SPONSORED BY HEAVY SHIELD

We are fortunate to have Wilson's written ac- 796
count of the 1892 Okan. Without it, many of the
details of the ceremony would have been lost to 114
us. Nevertheless, many details were not recorded
and are lost because he did not understand all
that went on around him. He was given no
Teachings about Medicine Lodge ceremonies.
Among the Old People who were given such 796
Teachings is George First Rider, the son of a
priest and doctor. Here is his story of another, 115
later Sun Dance, as he told it recently.

My grandmother, Catching Amongst, was 796
going to sponsor a Holy Lodge in the year 1908,
but she didn't. Something happened in the family
of the people that were going to transfer the
Natoas Bundle to her. [Probably a death; a mourn- [765]
ing family cannot take part in holy ceremonies.]

If there is no one to sponsor a Holy Lodge, 796
then the Horns Society will look for someone. 575

The Horns Society took one of the tongues [237]
[from the cows that were butchered on ration
day], and the ceremonial leader painted it black. [531]
The Horns Society sang, "The black paint I take. . . . It is holy."

The seven high-ranking members went out in
a procession bearing the painted tongue. They [292]
all wore holy moccasins, breechcloths, and robes.
The procession led to the east entrance of the
camp circle. They walked slowly. When they got [782]
to the south side, they stopped and prayed. They
stopped and prayed several times as they pro-

ceeded around the camp circle, each time waiting 796
for someone to approach them. This is what they 575
prayed: "Help, O Sun, may someone take this [782]
tongue. O Sun, bless the tongue yourself so that
someone may build a holy lodge for you."

The elderly Horns members sang a song of [533]
praise for each band in the camp circle—the Fish
Eaters band, the Many Children band, and also
for the women who sponsor Holy Lodges. . . .

Still, there was no one to sponsor a Holy
Lodge. The men continued carrying the tongue
around the camp circle. They stopped a little way
from the east entrance of the camp circle. They
were worried. This was their last stop, the camps
of the Lone Fighters band. For this band they [533]
sang, "My children, when they were long gone,
I was still happy."

The members prayed again and were about to
go back to their lodge when a woman came out
of her tipi. As she walked toward them, Chief
Calf came out and sang a song of praise for the
woman. The woman was the wife of Iron Neck-
lace [better known as Heavy Shield]. Her name [795]
was Many Kill. She walked straight up until she
stood in front of the leader who carried the
tongue. She held out her robe in bowl-like fashion.
The tongue carried around the camp was held [824]
with sage grass and a braid of sweetgrass. It was
not carried in a dish.

Many Kill did not say a word; the leader did not say a word. He just gave her the tongue. As he did, the rest said, "Aye," and made a downward brushing motion at the woman, showing their acceptance of her holy effort. She stood facing northeast. She turned to her right and went home. The leader was the woman's father. He sang, "Many Kill Woman—when she started to walk I was very happy."

The People all sang praise. The Horns Society members returned to their lodge. They walked around it from the south side to the north side, in the direction that Sun travels, and then they went inside. Some of them came out and called

[p.45-A]

out invitations: "All you Horns Society members 796
are all invited." The Horns said [to themselves], 575 ●
"Oki, it's us that took the tongue around the
camps and we are the ones that will make the
payments—Many Kill will just sponsor the Holy
Lodge—us, we will make the payments."

The virtuous women, past holy women, were 793
individually invited. They assembled immedi- 796
ately. Many Kill said, "You Horns Society mem-
bers will get me a father." Getting a father meant 778
that they would look for someone to transfer a 432
Natoas Bundle to her. She would need dry goods
and horses as payments for the transferral. In the
future, when Many Kill transferred her Natoas [575]
Bundle, she would pay back anyone who had [426]
helped with these payments.

The women who were to work on the tongues all went to the holy woman's tipi. The Horns Society members gathered the tongues, wrapped them in a blanket, and the leader took them to Heavy Shield's tipi. In the tipi, sitting at the back in the place of honor was Wolf Shirt, a respected holy man. The leader told Wolf Shirt, "Come to the Horns Society tipi." When Wolf Shirt went to the Horns, they said, "You will get a father for Many Kill. Who shall we ask?"

Wolf Shirt went out from the Horns Society tipi to tell the one who was going to give up her Natoas. She did not refuse. She said, "I am glad to transfer my Natoas to Many Kill." Wolf Shirt first returned to the Horns and told them, "It is agreed. She will transfer her Natoas to Many
Kill." Then he went back to Heavy Shield's tipi
and told Many Kill, "I got you a father." With [361]
that settled, Heavy Shield moved his camp to
the other side of the camp circle.

I have heard a lot of Old People say the holy 793
woman's tipi is never pitched on the north side 796
of the camp circle, always on the south side. But if the woman who is going to sponsor the Holy Lodge is from the north side, she will have to move her tipi to the south side.

Heavy Shield's friends took down his tipi. Just [352]

[p.45-B]

the tipi and bedding were moved—back rests are 793
not used in the tipis of holy women. The tipi has 796
to have beds all around the inside because the [352]
holy men and the holy women gather there and
they take care of the tongues. A holy woman's [353]
travois, all painted, is also moved.

Many Kill covered her head when she took 793
the tongue, and she would not uncover her head 796
from then on. She would not see anybody, and 784
nobody would see her face. Many Kill was a pious woman from the time she took the tongue. Many Kill's bed was made and then she was taken to her tipi by the former holy women. She walked very slowly across to her tipi. She could not look around. If she were going to cough she would cover her mouth with her hand so that the People would not hear her coughing. That is how hard it was to sponsor a Holy Lodge.

So, Many Kill was taken from the north side across to her tipi. The virtuous women walked with her. She sat on her bed. She did not braid her hair. She did not have on wristlets; she wore no necklace and no earrings. She had brought herself into loneliness and she had no material things to distract her.

The tongues had not been prepared beforehand, 796
since no Holy Lodge had been planned. 237
Now they had to be prepared in a hurry. They 252
were sliced very thin while a fire was built in the fireplace. It was a small fire, just big enough to heat the tongues. Tripods were set over the fire where the tongues were hung to dry.

Many Kill was a pious woman from the time 796
she took the tongue. She is a tall woman. She is 793
not fat, just stout. Heavy Shield is tall, thin, and left-handed. He suffered with his wife.

By the next morning the Horns Society preparations [575] ●
were finished. One of the Horns members
was sent to tell the holy woman that the Medicine [203]
Lodge ceremony could begin.

The messenger didn't have to wear holy moccasins. [292]
He wore his ordinary moccasins, a breechcloth, and a robe. He ran to the Holy Lodge tipi.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Before he entered he coughed; the people inside 793
all sat in order. The messenger went inside. He 796
put his robe on the right-hand side of the door [576]
and he went around the tipi making downward
brushing motions on the People, except for the
holy woman and her helpers. He passed in front
of her and continued to make downward brushing
motions on the men. When he got back to his
robe he picked it up, secured it around his waist,
and sat down. He sat on one of his feet. [516]

The messenger told them, "I came over to 793
notify you that the Horns Society has finished 796
the preparations." Neither the holy woman nor 575
her husband spoke a word. The priest spoke, saying
to everyone in the tipi, "Everything is prepared."
And then, someone in the Holy Lodge
who counted the tongue slices told the messenger
there were not enough. The messenger immediately
returned and told this to the Horns. Some
Horns members went out of camp to get more
beef tongues. They brought these tongues to the
holy woman's tipi, where they were cut and sliced
and set to dry.

At the Horns tipi, they selected their best 796
singers from amongst the members. The singers 575
formed themselves into two rows, the men in one 533
row, the women in the other. They paraded to
the east side of the camp circle. Then, starting
at the east entrance they paraded by all the camps
within the camp circle. At each camp they
stopped and sang. After singing their song, one [203]
of the men called out: "Woo-Ka-Hai! For you
People all to know: after tomorrow a sweat lodge
will be constructed. Nobody is to leave the camps,
so that we will all help with the construction of
the Holy Lodge. We all will work on it after
tomorrow."

The reason why the Horns set this date to
build the lodge was so that there would be time for
the newly cut tongues to dry. The tongues were
to be used in two days' time.

The next morning everything was arranged, 796
and the following morning the sweat lodge was 346
575

[p. 46-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

built. The young Horns got their saddle ponies 796
and rode down to the river. They gathered one 346
hundred rocks. The rocks were smaller than a 575
folded fist. White flint rocks and sand rocks were
not taken. They picked all ordinary rocks. About
noon the riders were heard returning, singing
plainly. There were no women among the riders.
The riders paraded around the inside of the camp
circle. They all dismounted at the Holy Lodge
tipi and their horses were led away.

The sweat lodge was constructed. There are 796
one hundred willows to a holy sweat lodge. The 346
entrance is on the east side and the exit is on the
west side, just like the daily path of Sun. The [824]
fifty willows on the south side were colored with [531]
real paint [red earth] and the other fifty willows
were colored with black paint. The real paint [822]
represents the day; the black paint represents the
night. The buffalo hides used to cover the sweat [237]
lodge were also colored, the hides on the south
side with real paint, the hides on the north side [531]
with black paint. In recent years the willows and
the canvases are not colored anymore.

In legends of the long-ago, only one rock was used in the sweat lodge. Lately, one hundred rocks were used. In this sweat lodge the rocks were not heated red hot. It was a sweat lodge just to reinforce the spiritual powers.

The buffalo skull, which is offered to Sun, was [237]
laid on a small pile of dirt that had been scooped
out from a hole inside the sweat lodge. It is dif- [782]
ferent with the Crow Indians, who put their buf- [171]
falo skulls by the Center Pole. Buffalo skulls are
no longer left out as offerings. They are put away
for use in the next Sun Dance.

The night after the sweat lodge ceremonies,
the Horns Society members were painted and the 796
next morning they cut down the Center Pole. 346
There were four singers, each with hand drums, 575
which were invented by that time. The Center
Pole was cut down, and as it was hauled to the [533]
center of the camp circle, the Horns Society [534]
members rode on it. A woman member was ap-

[p.47-A]

pointed to follow behind. The singers beat their 796
drums as the procession moved along. 346

Many Kill was sitting out in the shade by her 575
tipi. The People brought to her their offerings
and pipes. After they unloaded the Center Pole,
the Horns Society members brought forward to 796
Many Kill their payments for the Natoas trans- 778
ferral. They carried dry goods in their arms and 793
each led a horse to the transferral. 432

The People tied tipi poles together, approxi-
mately a foot down from the top. Every separate 346
band came forward, singing a song with no words. 796
The People all jumped into the Holy Lodge. [533]
Heavy Shield sat on the Center Pole. He had on
a black robe and his face was painted black. He [292]
was blowing on his whistle. As the Center Pole [302]
started to raise, he jumped down, leaving his robe [534]
on the Center Pole. That is the custom.

The Center Pole was raised. Some blew their
whistles while others shot their guns into the air.
Everybody helped set the Pole upright and the
seven rafter poles in place. Two orderlies wear- [292]
ing crow-feather headpieces brought in the hide [237]
to tie the rafter poles and cross beams. The Peo-
ple got their horses again and rode down to the
river to cut young trees to cover the sides of the
circular structure of the Holy Lodge. Some riders
attached stirrup-cover decorations. Some wore
fur chaps, even though it was a hot day. Some [302]
men had on facial war paintings. The People [533]
sang a song with no words.

The riders were shooting and shouting. They came back through the east entrance, paraded once around the inside of the camp circle, and then they gallopped to the Holy Lodge. Some were bucked off on the way—the horses shy at the trees dragged by the riders. They raced to the Holy Lodge as a reenactment of the time when the Plains Indians rode into enemy camps at full speed.

The trees were set up against the cross beams of the Holy Lodge. Then the riders went home and turned loose their horses.

[p.47-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

At this point, Many Kill, the sponsor of the 346
Holy Lodge, came out from her tipi and sat in its 796
shade. The Horns Society sat on the east side, the [793)
Braves Society on the southeast side, and the
Pigeon Society on the southwest side. The drumming [575]
of the various societies sounded at intervals. [533]
The Holy Lodge was completed.

I, First Rider, have told this story. I am a [115]
Blood Indian.

[p.48-A]

believed quite secure, since a number of our 778
People who respected its significance longed to be
its Keepers. But that isn't the way it turned out. 114

Just prior to the Sun Dance Encampment of 778
1968 we learned that our Long-Time Pipe was to 439
be sold. Its Keeper, John Red Crane, who had
only recently taken over the Bundle, had been 177
paid $3,000 by the Provincial Museum of Alberta 432
to transfer the Bundle to them at the encamp- 796
ment. Red Crane invited only the members of his
own society, the Red Belts, to the transfer cere- [435]
mony. Actually, they were paid to attend. [575]

The museum promised that the Bundle would be brought back to the reserve each year to be opened. However, since the Bundle had been transferred to an official of the museum, he became the Bundle's spiritual Owner, thereby giving the museum complete control over it. No ceremony could be held without this official at the place of honor reserved for the Bundles's Keeper. This is somewhat like having a family gathering in memory of a murdered grandparent and being required to give the seat of respect and honor to the murderer.

Shortly after John Red Crane sold the Long- [787]
Time Pipe to the museum, he had a strange
dream. The Spirit of the Pipe came to him, say- [761]
ing, "Just as you had no pity for me, I will have
no pity for you." He told some of his friends about the dream and that he feared for his life. Not long after that, he was taken ill and placed in a hospital. He spent some time there, much of it in pain, before he died. When friends came to visit him during his final weeks, he was unable to speak to them—all he could do was hum parts of the songs for the Long-Time Pipe. He was not at the Bundle's last opening and he never saw the ancient Pipe again after he sold it.

A year after the transfer of the Long-Time Pipe, the museum decided that a complete record of the Bundle's ceremony should be made. Accordingly, $1,800 was spent to sponsor it; all the participants were paid a salary, like movie extras.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

As we ate breakfast on this foggy morning, our door curtain was quietly lifted from the outside and a blanket-covered figure quickly stepped inside. The mysterious visitor was our favorite uncle, Atsitsina. Sitting down at my left, he let the blanket drop to his waist. He watched the door, saying to us, "I'm scared they might catch me, you know! That's why I haven't been staying with you at the camp. The Horns don't have enough members and they might grab me and make me join with them. Some of them are pretty close friends of mine." 575 561

When a younger society takes over the Horns, it must have enough members of its own to fill all the memberships of the Horns. If not, the new members will recruit additional, and occasionally unwilling, members. The recruiters wear blankets over their heads and carry a filled pipe as they approach the home of the intended captive member. If they can catch him inside and touch him with the pipe, he must smoke it, thereby agreeing to join the group. This can be done anytime during the year, but is most common while the People are gathered at the Sun Dance Camp. It is a well-known tradition all our People respect. However, as Atsitsina was over seventy years old, and the average age of new Horns members less than forty, it was unlikely he would be called on in this manner. [292] [276]

"Well, they might not try to catch me," Atsitsina admitted, "but I'm scared to join them, so I don't want to take any chances. You know," he went on, "my brother, Ksachkom ["Earth," or Fred Eagle Plume] is joining, and he still needs to find a partner. Everybody knows that I never did join the Horns, so they might try to get me now."

I asked why he had never joined, since most of his friends had been members several times. He replied, "Well, you know that I've always been with Medicine Pipes. I never thought that I could devote myself to both these things properly, so I just took part in one."

I waited for him to go on. When he didn't I

[p·105-A]

asked, "How come your dad, Natosina, was able 561
to take care of both things properly—besides 575
learning other holy Ways?"

He replied, "You know we don't talk about the Horns Society if we don't belong to it. There is a lot of Power and secrets with that society. I've [784] always been scared of their Power and I don't like to have anything to do with secrets. Maybe I couldn't keep secrets good enough. I always got enough Power from my Medicine Pipes. And I didn't have to keep any secrets with them."

Then he told us about the time he was almost captured to join the Horns:

"Back in the thirties, I was trying to live like [177]
a white man. I went to the Catholic church on Sundays, and I worked on my farm all week long. [241]
I was a pretty good farmer. I had cattle and horses and farming equipment, and a lot of acres to work. I didn't even go to the Sun Dance Camps because that was during the busiest time of the farming season. Well, this one summer, I was cutting my hay, while most of the People were camped up here at the Buttes. I was at home, my wife was feeding me some dinner, when we saw a car drive up. I recognized the car from a distance; it belonged to a friend of mine. I got up and walked to the door to say hello to him. But before I opened the door my wife called, 'Wait, don't open the door. There's some men getting out of that car and they got blankets on!' I looked through the curtain just when one of them was taking a pipe from the car seat and hiding it under his blanket. I knew right away what they came for, so I ran to the back of the house and jumped out through an open window. I left my saddle horse just standing there by the house. I ran all the way back to where I was haying. My wife told them that I was working somewhere in the fields, so they left and drove to somebody else's house to try their luck. Gosh, if they had caught me, I would have had to quit my farming right then and move up to the camps. And I [425]
would have had to give up most of my horses to

[p. 105-B]

pay for my membership. Maybe I wouldn't have 561
had enough horses left to keep on farming. That's 575
what happened to some others who joined."

Our uncle was born in about 1900 to Sikski-
Aki and Natosina. His mother became old. Later, [425]
her name was given to the infant girl who was to
become my wife. Before SikskiAki, his father had 551
a first wife called Marmot Woman; and before 553
Natosina, his mother had been married to Low Horn, who was killed on his way to the Sun Dance Encampment of 1898.

Our uncle's dad, Natosina, was best known by the name Eagle Plume; and our uncle himself is officially registered as Willie Eagle Plume. At one time he was known as Big Snake, the name of his father's brother. And now, as we fed him breakfast, he told us he had taken a new name, this one from his father's half-brother, Aukitsikinnih, "Bad Moccasin." But he is best known as Atsitsina. It was a childhood name that remained with him throughout his life.

At first many of our People receive a baby
name referring to a personal characteristic. Later, [554]
as they grow into childhood, they are given a
childhood name, usually in honor of an ancestor
or other successful person. Then, upon a first war-
raid or distant journey, a person may take an
adult name for himself, or be given one by others.
Finally, in old age, many give up their names to
some favored young relative and take on their
final name. A person might also change his name [787]
for other reasons, such as being inspired by
dreams.

I used to think that our uncle's name was Glove Man, the literal translation of the word *Atsitsina*. But just recently I learned that his name is actually understood to mean "Prairie Owl Man." He explained how this happened:

"Oki, the reason my name is Atsitsina—I'll tell you the story. My father's sister, her name was Three Owl Woman, and her husband, his name was Sits-With-His-Chest-Out, they had two children. Their youngest child was a little older than

me. He was very attached to me from the time I 551
was born. I probably had an infant's name, but I 553
don't know what it was.

"One time, that little boy came running into 551
our lodge because he heard my crying. He looked 553
at me and he said, 'That little child is very cute. 825
He looks just like an atsisi.' Those are the birds
that make their homes in the ground on the prairie. Some kinds stay in the woods, but this kind stays on the prairie; and we call it a prairie owl.

"Those Atsisi are really cute. They are really small. If a person sees them, they look like an owl. They have big eyes, but they are small, about the size of a pigeon, at the largest. Long ago, an Old Man said not to kill them. He said, 'If you call them they will listen to you and you will be able to pick them up and you can look at them.' And that's true—I know—when you see one you just call to it, *At-see-tsee, at-see-tsee,* and you go toward it, slowly. It will just look at you. *At-see-tsee, at-see-tsee*; you don't hurry it, you just go slowly. You go easy. *At-see-tsee.* You wear a glove to pick them up. That's why they're called *atsitsi* ["glove"].

"Oki, so that boy said, 'He looks like an atsitsi,' 551
and they added *ninna* [man] to make it 553
Atsitsi-na. My brother [the boy who gave him the [601]
name; cousins are called brothers among the Blackfeet], he was Little Buttocks. Later he became On-the-Edge-Piegan. He's been dead for a long time. I became well known as Atsitsina, and they are still calling me by that name."

SMOKING PIPES

Atsitsina usually sang our Bundle's songs whenever 533
he visited us, but this time he was afraid his 778
familiar voice could be easily heard around the 576
early-morning camp. He asked that we postpone 123
the songs and help him with a task.

"I came to ask, could you put a hole through 276
this pipestem? I must make some pipes. Some of 575

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

the new Horns came to see me already. They all 276
want new pipes. Could you help me make them?" 575

Each member of the Horns Society must
have his own smoking pipe. It should be of our
traditional style, with a black stone bowl. There
are very few such pipes left among our People.
Most of them have been buried with their owners [764]
or sold to collectors and museums. [432]

Atsitsina went on: "Used to be lots of men
here that could make pipes, but not any more. 324
My dad made lots of pipes. All the time he 276
worked on one or two, when he wasn't busy doc-
toring or leading ceremonies. He used to get a [178]
good horse for just one pipe. I think he was the [435]
last one that made pipes in the really old way
[using the elements of hot and cold to chip the
stone into shape]. I never learned how to do it
that way. Only way I can make them is with a [412]
hacksaw and a file and a hand drill."

I saw evidence of Atsitsina's skill and popu- [484]
larity as a pipemaker when he and I were visiting
the Provincial Museum in Edmonton. Eric

[p.107-A]

When it was time for Atsitsina to leave, he 128
apparently forgot his fears of being tapped by the [575]
new Horns members. I walked him to the door,
where a relative was waiting to take him by car.
He left openly, saying he would return in a few
days to take me to another part of the Belly
Buttes to collect some plants and teach me about
them.

As he left, Atsitsina said, "I sure would like 778
to pray with my old Pipe when they open it. You 782
go and pray for me, huh?" He was referring to the
Backside-to-the-Fire Medicine Pipe, which he had
twice kept in the past. We knew that Jim Twig, [432]
the present Owner, was going to transfer it after [575]
the opening ceremony, but Atsitsina was again
afraid to be so easily accessible to recruiters for
the Horns.

Sun had burned off most of the fog by this 575
time. We could see the Motokiks walking in a
line toward the east, just outside the camp circle.

MOTOKIKS: THE WOMEN'S SOCIETY

The Motokiks had put up their lodge on the evening 575
of the third night in camp. It was not big. 346
They had begun to put it up as we started our supper, and as we finished, so were they. Their lodge looked like a small Medicine Lodge without any coverings or boughs. The framework was covered with tipi linings around the sides and tipi covers over the top. A long tipi pole, donated by someone in camp, was used as the Center Pole, and stuck out far above the top of the lodge. Just above where the roof poles intersected the Center Pole, a small stick was tied firmly, crosswise and at a slight angle, making it look something like a Christian cross. Its purpose is not known and is probably one of the secret traditions of the society.

The Horns and the Motokiks are companion 575
societies. Some parts of their ceremonies are pub-

lic, and other parts are so sacred they are per- 575
formed only before members and explained and
passed on only to members. The following is a [114]
fairly brief but accurate description of the society,
published by the American Museum of Natural
History over fifty years ago.

Some specimens were collected [from the Motokiks Society]. However, some secrecy was maintained as to details, and the writer gained the impression from Blood informants, that the awe in which the Matoki was held was secondary to the Horns. He was told that as a rule, the wives of Horn Society men were also members of the Matoki. This was explained as proving that the great prestige of the Horns gave one the social level desirable for Matoki membership. According to the recollection of my informant the leading woman in the Matoki was usually the wife of the leader of the Horns.

The members of the Motokiks Society are
divided into four groups, all under the leadership
of the head woman known as the Pole Owner.
Her annual duty is to obtain a new Center Pole [796]
and to attend to its ceremony when it is erected.
The Center Pole is always left as an offering after [782]
the ceremony each year. One woman was a Pole
Owner for fifty-four years, according to Percy [424]
Creighton. Her name was Pretty Wolverine [425]
Woman. When she gave up her rights, she was
succeeded by Moccasin Woman.

Each member cares for a sacred Bundle, kept [778]
in a rawhide container. The main contents are
headdresses and sacred paints. Anyone in camp [415]
may see the members dressed in their headdresses
and paints, so I can tell you more about them.

Traditionally, the Motokiks are divided into
the Snakes, the Birds, the Bulls, and the Scabby
Bulls. Much of the following information comes [127]
from the notes of Mrs. Walters, who took such
an interest in the Motokiks she tried to buy all
their Bundles for her collection. Although she

didn't get them all, she got many, mostly from 575 ●
Percy Creighton, whose wife was one of the leading
members.

An important member of the Motokiks is the [276]
pipe lighter. She takes the smoking pipes to the
society lodge fire and lights them whenever they
are to be smoked. The last pipe lighter was Spear
Woman, who died of old age while visiting in
Browning in 1934. Percy Creighton obtained her [778]
Pipe Lighter's Bundle for Mrs. Walters. Only the [425]
assistant pipe lighter could then fulfill the duties
of pipe lighting. The assistant happened to be
Percy Creighton's wife.

Mrs. Walters comments that in 1939 there
were fifteen active members during the Motokiks
ceremonies; in 1946 there were sixteen. During
our recent encampment only eight women took
part in the ceremonies, led by Mrs. Laurie Plume,
the Pole Owner.

In 1936 Percy Creighton asked the oldest 575
man on the reserve, who was ninety-four years 175
old, if he had ever heard about the time when the
Motokiks were first organized. Creighton wrote [212]
Mrs. Walters that the old man "in his boyhood
days . . . saw the society dancing, and he don't
know when this society formed together." We [164]
know that the Motokiks had been formed at least [165]
as early as 1832, when most of the Bulls Society
members, very old men who had been outstanding
chiefs and warriors, died in a smallpox epidemic.
After the epidemic, the Bulls Society [425]
ceased to function and the surviving members
gave all the society's ancient headdresses to the
Horns and Motokiks.

Some of the Motokiks Bundles Mrs. Walters 575
bought contained Bulls headdresses. Her notes, 778
which follow, describe a Snake headdress and the
contents of a Bundle whose former Owner was
Small-Faced Woman.

The Bundle was kept in a cylindrical rawhide [127]
case for protection. The case had "fringe on side
—triangular painted design—green and red— [415]
much worn and warped." The contents included [531]
the following:

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Contents of a Motokiks Bundle]

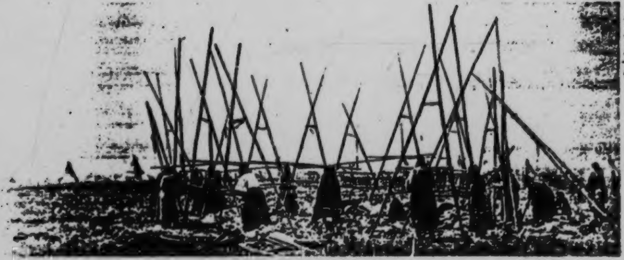
- one unused clam shell and one clam shell used to mix green paint in, along with a mixing stick, all wrapped in a bladder and kept inside a small bag of cheesecloth. 575 778 [237]
- one buffalo skin bag of sacred red paint, wrapped in a piece of canvas and tied with a thong.
- a bundle of sweetgrass braids wrapped in calico cloth. [824]
- a large bundle with calico cloth around it, containing the headdress parts, which were only assembled when it was used; the parts included the snake, made of stuffed, yellow-painted buckskin with a zigzag line beaded along its body, beads and bells to be attached at several points, and three plumes, consisting of many small feathers attached to three main shafts, to be attached to the snake to complete the headdress. [292] [237] [531]
- a batch of small feathers, some red and some natural white, in a paper wrapping. [237]
- a bone whistle, also kept inside this part of the Bundle, each member wearing such a whistle during the ceremony. [534]

The main Bundle also contained a "loose bead trimmed pendant"; a tiny cloth bag, inside of which was a bladder filled with some kind of roots; and a small "accessory" bundle of paint bags, more roots and painting shells, and some ancient cloth and scarf wrappings. [237]

Robert Wilson was probably the first person to photograph members of the Motokiks wearing their headdresses and putting up their lodge. In those days, the lodge was still constructed with a framework of travois. To accompany Wilson's photographs of 1892 scenes, let us read some excerpts from the 1905 notes of David Duvall, a South Piegan man who collected traditional information for the anthropologist Clark Wissler. These notes are now in the American Museum of Natural History. Duvall got most of his information from an old member who was the wife of Heavy Runner. 575 /127

[p. 112-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

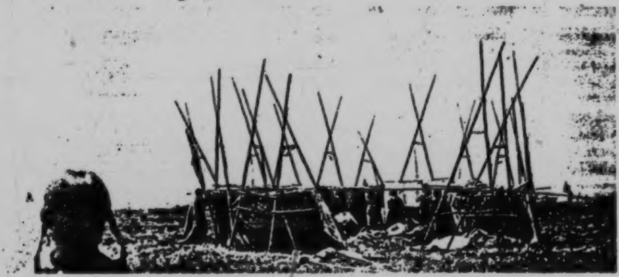


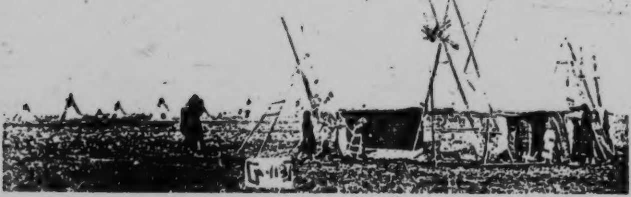
575
346
361
796

Top: Women of the Motokiks Society tying their travois together to make the frame for their lodge during the 1892 encampment. (R. N. Wilson)

Center: Motokiks putting up the walls of their lodge. (R. N. Wilson)

Bottom: Lodge of the Motokiks Society with the two front doors open toward the east. (R. N. Wilson)





21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Motokiks Society Dance, 1905]

The ma'toki dance but once a year when the 575
camp circle is formed. Their ceremony lasts four 796
days. First they make a shelter somewhat like the 346
one used for a sun dance. A tipi pole is set up in
the center, with a peculiar cross piece near the
top. A number of travois are set up in a circle
around this pole and joined together by tipi poles
tied along the top, making a single railing all the
way around. . . . On the sides and over the top
are stretched tipi covers. At the bottom they are
weighted with stones. Along the sides within
blankets are suspended. . . . Near the cross piece
on the pole are four transverse black bands about
a hand apart. . . . The members bring their bedding
and occupy their respective places during the
entire four days.

There are six men attached to the society, 575
but all the other members are women. Four of 796
these do the singing. The remaining pair act as 353
messengers and attendants. . . . Each woman
has a red-painted backrest stick planted before her
seat to support her headdress. When they sleep
they lie with their feet toward the center. Just to
the west side of the center pole is a fire. When
food is brought in and handed to members, they
pass what is given them to members on the opposite
side. Each member has an individual smudge
altar before her seat. . . . Along the sides next to [237]
the sitter are rows of buffalo chips covered with [824]
sage grass. Sweetgrass is used for smudge. The [292]
headdresses must always be smudged four times
before they are placed on the head. [788]

Men, women, and children go in to be 575
painted, taking with them sun offerings of cloth, 796
etc., which are tied to the base of the center pole. [782]
The faces of these donors are painted over with
red and a blue mark made down the forehead and [302]
nose with a fork at the top . . . to symbolize the [822]
tipi pole in the center and spoken of as the tipi
pole paint.

The ceremonial shelter has two doors, one at [346]
the northeast and one at the southeast. In going
out members use the nearest door but return by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 115A]

[p. 114-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

292
788
531
575●
237

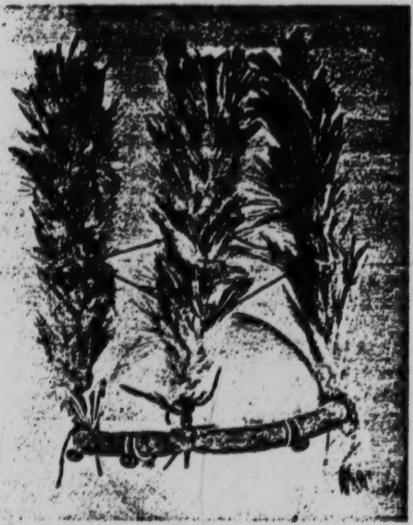
Headdress of a Bull member of the Motokiks Society, on display at the Glenbow Museum.

Headdress of a Bird member of the Motokiks Society, on display at the Alberta Provincial Museum.

[p. 114-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Motokiks Society Dance, 1905]



292
778
575●
237

Headdress of a Snake member of the Motokiks Society, on display at the Alberta Provincial Museum.

the other. The four singers use rattles and a raw- 575
hide of the same type as accompanies the beaver 796
bundle. They sit west of the fireplace. [Spirit- [346]
ually, it is thought that Beaver Men in the long- [534]
ago contributed their rawhide and rattles to the
society, just as they contributed the Natoas head- [173]
dress to the Medicine Lodge and the sacred Pipe-
stem to the Medicine Pipe Bundles.]

All the women wear bone whistles suspended 575
by neck cords and upon these they blow while 796
they dance. They do not all dance at once, but by 535
groups. Thus, the four scabby bulls rise and
dance. When they sit again, the feather bonnets [534]
[the Birds group] take a turn, etc. In all move-
ments the owner of the tipi pole has absolute
authority. . . . She wears a buckskin dress and a [292]
snake bonnet and sits to the right of the other
snake bonnet wearers. . . . The feather bonnets [237]

[p. 115-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Motokiks Society Dance, 1905]

are covered over the crowns with a mass of soft 575
bird feathers. They have tail pieces falling down 796
on the shoulders and bearing transverse rows of 535
small wing and tail feathers. . . . The scabby
bulls wear war bonnets with horns and robes of [292]
cowskin, hair side out. They dance in single file, [237]
circling the Pole. First they rise and dance in their
tracks, then move to the south side of the fire and
dance, then to the west and then to the north.
Next the snake bonnets rise with the tipi pole
owner in the lead and dance in the same way.
Next come the feather bonnets and finally the
buffalo wool bonnets.

It is customary for persons who have made 575
vows or pledges during the year, if their prayers be 796
granted, to provide a feast of berry soup for the 782
ma'toki. At various times during the ceremonies a
pledger brings in a kettle of soup and some to- [262]
bacco which is offered to the tipi pole owner with [264]
an announcement of the circumstances. Then the
soup is dished out to the members and each and
all pray for the pledger.

On the morning of the last day, before sun- 575
rise, the ma'toki forms in procession and imitates 796
buffalo going to water. They seek out some de-
pression or low place in the prairie. As they drift [825]
along they segregate, as they do in the dance. At a
place designated by the leader they all lie down
like buffalo.

Now, it is customary for a man or a boy to [782]
have made a vow that he will "drive in the
ma'toki" at their next ceremony. His sacrifice must be a horse and many presents to the owner of the tipi pole. This man then rides out as if looking for a buffalo. When he finds them, he builds a fire with cow dung to windward. As soon as the ma'toki smell the smoke, they rise. The driver then mounts and rides toward them, at which they start for their shelter. As they proceed, he rides on their flank. They trot to the shelter, but the four scabby bulls trail slowly in the rear. When the members get inside the shelter they run around the inside sun-wise until one by one

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 118-A]

[P. 115-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

575
292
778
531

[p. 116]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

575
292
778
531
534

An old woman named Maka, or "Shorty," wearing her Motokik's Bull headdress. Her face is painted for her office, and she has her society whistle in her mouth. (Edward Curtis)

Opposite page: Scabby Bull headdress of the Motokiks Society. The lady's name was Snake People Woman. (National Museum of Canada)

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Motokiks Society Dance, 1905]

some person lays hold of them and leads them to 575
a seat. Two of the snake bonnets run around in 796
the reverse way. The four bulls come in last and
walk slowly around until pulled into their seats.

Like the horns and other societies the members 575
sell, or transfer to others, usually all transferring 796
at the same time. The ceremony seems to 432
require four days and nights, during which time
they are not supposed to sleep. . . . It is said [513]
that the entire night is given to hilarity. Joke and [522]
jest reign supreme. Some dress like men and act
out the part, give orders to a wife, etc. Some roll
up blankets like medicine bundles and hold mock
ceremonies. . . .

The fees for buying a membership are a [424]
horse, a gun, and other property. The most expensive
place is that of the tipi pole owner for [435]
which twelve horses and a proportionate amount
of other property are required.

Shortly after Atsitsina left, we went outside 575
our tipi to watch the Motokiks. They were already 796
beyond the camp circle, walking in single
file from east to west, along the south side of the 782
circle. We saw Mokakin take down a spare lodge
pole leaning against the back of his tipi. An offering [824]
made of willow sticks, sage grass, and cloth
was fastened to the pole. Mokakin had put the
offering on the lodge pole before Sunrise, so that
Sun could see where it came from.

The women sat down on the ground outside
the south end of camp. Mokakin untied the [276]
offering and gave it to his son Charlie, along with
a filled pipe and a bunch of sage grass, to bring to
the women. Charlie presented these things to one
of the members and knelt before her to receive
her prayer. Then she lit the pipe and passed it
around. After it was smoked out, she returned it
to him. The women got up and, single file, moved

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 119-A]

[P. 118A]

21: Hungry Wolf   F-4,5   (ca. 1972) 1977   NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

796
575
292

Some members of the Motokiks Society in 1892. The sacred headdresses belong to the groups known as the Birds and the Snakes. (R. N. Wilson)

[P.118-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca., 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

on to the west side of camp, where they again sat 575 ●
down to await anyone who wished to make offer- 796
ings. They repeated this at the north and east 782
ends, then returned to their lodge.

The next morning, people would have another opportunity to approach the Motokiks for
prayers and blessings, this time in their lodge.
There, the prayer seekers would be painted with [302]
the Center Pole design. We wished to have Mrs.
Red Crow, the society's only remaining Scabby [123]
Bull, paint our son Wolf Child, so that he could
add this blessing to his young life.

MINIPOKAIKS: THE FAVORITE CHILDREN

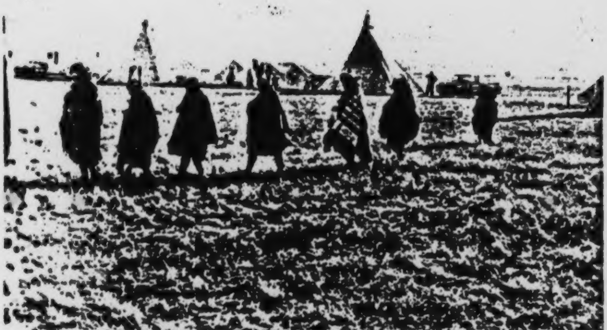
That evening, after the camp quieted down, we 574
went next door again to visit Mokakin and Ponah.
Eagle Ribs is always happy to entertain his guests [517]
with stories and talk. One of that night's subjects 593
was *minipokaiks*—"favorite children." It was a
tradition among our People for parents or grand- 858
parents to select a child as a favorite, one who [554]
showed particular promise to succeed in our
Ways, given proper care and Teaching. If the
parents of a minipoka went to many ceremonies,
the child was likely to grow up to become a ceremonial leader. If the parents went to many social
functions, the child was likely to learn much
about leadership. Other minipokaiks, however, [155]
were simply spoiled and pampered so that they
grew up expecting others to help them at the first
sign of difficulty. Mokakin told us this legend, 539
The Story of the Abandoned Children, about one 773
minipoka of the long-ago.

This happened a long time ago. I don't know how long. I heard the story told by others when I was young.

[P.119-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

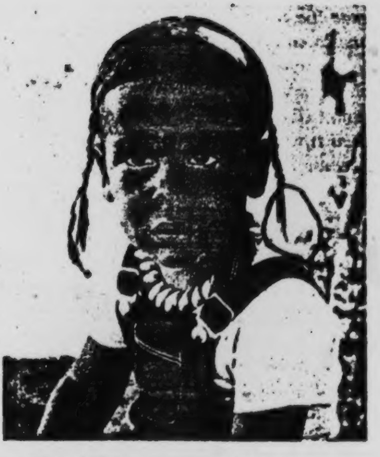
796
575●
342



Members of the Motokiks Society in 1972, making a ceremonial round of the camp early in the morning.

[p.119-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



302
796
575 ●
291

Wolf Child, after receiving a face painting and blessing from Mrs. Red Crow, during the ceremonies of the Motokiks.

[p.119-c]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Some children were playing in the bushes by 773
the camp. One of the children was a minipoka. 539
His father was the head chief. Everybody was afraid of this chief; sometimes he got a bad temper, but he was Powerful and a good leader.

Oki, the kids were playing in the bushes. The minipoka had to go to the toilet, so he went away from the kids where they could not see him. But the other kids, they wanted to know how a minipoka would take care of himself. So they watched through the bushes. When they looked at him,
their eyes got big. What fell to the ground was a [301]
big pile of pretty shells, the kind Medicine Pipe [237]
Owners wear as a necklace. The children ran out from the bushes and grabbed the shells. They were so excited that they knocked the minipoka down and took all the shells. When he got up, all the shells were gone and the kids ran off through the bushes with them, singing and laughing.

The minipoka started to cry and ran home to his father. When he told his father what happened the chief became angry. Right away, he gave the order for camp to be moved and for no one to call home their children. The People had to do what the chief ordered. By the time the children were finished playing and got back to the camp, all they saw were the smoldering fires where their tipis used to be. They all sat down and cried because they knew that they had been abandoned.

One of our Old People was raised as a minipoka 593
by his influential father. His parents located 858
a young girl from a good family to become his [584]
wife, even though he was still a boy and living at
home. He became a member of the Horns Society [575]
when he was only about twelve or fourteen, [561]
which is very unusual. The Old People say that
even now he still acts like a minipoka and likes to [157]
see things done to suit himself.

While we talked about minipokaiks, Ponah 593
admitted she had been the minipoka of her 858
father, Iron. She said that they had a painted 857
Medicine Tipi transferred to her. When I asked [952]

[p.120-A] [778]
[432]
[345]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Backside-To-The Fire Pipe Opening Ceremony, 1972]

come to ask for some sacred yellow paint, knowing 778
that I use that color as part of my personal
Medicine. She said that the old Horns wished to [432]
buy some for use in the upcoming Horns Society [422]
transfer. Her husband was giving up his membership,
while her brother was going to join. I told [575]
her I would donate some to the Horns. Then she [431]
declined our invitation to visit and quickly left to
help the Horns in their many preparations for the
transfer.

We had just finished breakfast when another 778
visitor arrived. This time it was Ksachkom 426
("Earth"), or Fred Eagle Plume, Atsitsina's
brother, who, in his seventies, was the oldest man [575]
to become a new member of the Horns during this [782]
transfer. He was joining to fulfill a vow that he
had made some time ago. He came to borrow my
pipe bag. He said that Atsitsina had loaned him a
pipe, but that he must have a bag for it during
the transfer ceremonies. I said nothing, knowing
that tradition would not allow me to ask for the
bag's return if he did not bring it back on his
own. The soft deerhide from which the bag is [415]
made was the last one tanned long ago by my
"grandma" who lives in the south. I could never
replace it. In addition, the bag is beautifully decorated
with SikskiAki's beadwork. Since I did not [576]
care to lend it, I remained silent to his request.
Knowing the reason for my silence, Ksachkom explained
that a new bag was being made for him
by some woman relative, and that he only needed
mine because his was not yet ready for use. Then
I agreed to let him use the bag. It is a custom that
Medicine Pipe Owners do not lend out their
belongings, but give them away if someone is
really in need of them. If they do lend anything,
then it must be returned within four days. After
that they can neither ask for it nor expect to take
it back if it is brought.

Sun let us know early that it was going to be 796
very hot that day. It is easier for the body to sit 292
through a long ceremony in the spring, after the 778
first sound of Thunder, than in the middle of a

[p.132-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Later on the Fourth Day

Back at our tipi, we put away our blankets and 312
other things, lay down in the shade, fanned ourselves,
and drank lots of cool water. Getting water
to the Sun Dance Camps used to be quite a chore
in the Old Days, as there was no accessible water
source in the Belly Buttes. Nowadays, a truck
with a full tank of cold well-water drives around
the camp circle every evening so that people can
fill their containers.

It was a clear, calm, middle-of-summer day; 575
the temperature must have been at least a hundred. 432
We heard someone singing. The song was
to honor the wife of Harry Shade, about to become [533]
a member of the Motokiks. Although it is [554]
traditional for this society to transfer memberships [782]
as a group, a woman may make a vow to
join if she learns that a present member is willing [422]
to part with her Society Bundle. As in this case, [424]
Noyiss, the wife of Henry Standing Alone, had
agreed to transfer her membership. We looked
toward the Motokik's lodge, where we saw someone
leading a fine horse with a pile of beautiful
blankets on its back—all representing payments
for the new membership.

Part of the Motokiks' transfer ceremony is 575
public and part is closed. We walked over to the 432
lodge to join a crowd of others to see what we 796
could through the two doorways and the lodge
covers, which were opened for all to see. Inside, [535]
three women were dancing in place. They wore [292]

[p. 136-A] [534]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Snake headdresses, whistles on leather thongs 575 ●
around their necks, and shawls over their shoul- 432
ders. The feather plumes of their headdresses 796
waved in the air as they danced. Each of the [292]
women tooted on small whistles made from eagle
bones. The women's faces were completely cov- [534]
ered with sacred yellow paint, which looked [237]
greenish in the subdued lighting of the lodge.
Thin red lines were drawn from the corners of [302]
their eyes and mouths.

Four of the older men did the singing—Joe [533]
Sun, Albert Wolf Child, Mark Old Shoes, and [534]
Fred Weasel Fat—all former members of the
Horns Society. They sat in a row, facing east, each
beating the song's rhythm with a rawhide rattle
on a sheet of rawhide spread before them on the
ground.

The members' beds were lined head to foot [353]
around the lodge wall. Members who were not
dancing sat quietly on their beds. Before each [352]
bed, a piece of earth was cleared. This was the [778]
altar where the incense was made. Just beyond
the altar, toward the center of the lodge, a short,
upright stick had been firmly planted in the
ground. Tied to each stick was a decorated raw- [415]
hide container. This was where the sacred head- [292]
dresses were kept when not worn.

Soon the doors of the lodge were closed, [778]
shutting us from the mystery of the ceremony
within.

[p. 136-B]

into the tipi to take turns dancing in place with 796
the sacred Pipe. These were people who wished to 432
share the Pipe's spiritual powers; and for the 778
privilege of dancing with the Pipe, they contributed [535]
some blankets and dry goods. The first group
was young Weaselhead's relatives. They placed [424]
the blankets and dry goods around the fireplace in a semi-circle, dancing on them and facing the four directions. After each dance, the material was given to the former Owner and considered part of the payment.

After the relatives, some members of the 796
Magpie Society came in. Fred's late father (Pat 432
Weaselhead, Junior, son of Mokakin and Ponah) 778
had been a member of the Magpies. Upon his 575
death, his comrades had taken his son into their society as a junior member, as was the custom.
For ceremony, they danced and then gave their [535]
walkway of blankets and dry goods to the Bundle's former Owner. The last group to come in and dance in the same way were members of young Weaselhead's social society, the Kaispaiks, or Grass Dancers.

After the last dancer, the Bundle was folded 778
up, but not tied, and taken to the new Owner's 796
tipi for the remainder of the ceremony. The 432
woman has the honor of caring for the Bundle, not only at home but also when moving it. She carries the closed Bundle on her back, following the leader and her husband.

Due to the uncomfortable heat that day, a pause was taken until later in the afternoon, when the mountain breezes would blow across the campground. We went back to our own lodge to rest and relax.

It was almost suppertime when the crier [203]
came around to announce that the Bundle would
be closed up. He reminded the participants to [415]
bring along their bowls to share in the meal the
new Keeper's family would provide. The new [264]
Keeper's tipi was soon filled with visitors, most of
them former Medicine Pipe People. Berry soup [262]
and other foods were dished out, prayed with, and
eaten. The atmosphere was now very relaxed. It [782]

21: Hungry Wolf   F-4,5   (ca. 1972) 1977   NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

796
778
276
● [575]

Atsitsina holding his holy Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe while a Horn member smokes from it. The Pipe's sacred opening ceremony at a Sun Dance is the only time a Medicine Pipe is brought out to be smoked.

[p. 146-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

778 793 575● 237

Stephen Fox in his old age. He is praying and calling out four coups for the leader of the Horns Society, during our Sun Dance Encampment a few years ago. He holds the leader's swan-skin-wrapped staff. Stephen Fox lived to be almost a hundred, and remained very active until his death, at which time he was survived by many children—some of them older men and some still quite small. [555] [165]

In later years, the Pipe was owned in succession by Owns No Fancy Horses, Eagle Head, Heavy Shield, Old Man, Sleeps on Top, who was Stephen Fox's father, and Crop-Eared Wolf, our head chief after Red Crow's death. Crop-Eared Wolf gave one hundred horses as a sacrifice for the Pipe. This was back in the days when he was known by the name Many Horses. The Buffalo Days were ended by that time. 778 793 [435]

Crop-Eared Wolf had the Pipe for a number of years. He gave it to Wolf Chief, also known as Big Wolf. Big Wolf had a fifteen-year-old daughter named Ambush Woman, who was his minipoka. She married a young man by the name of Parted Hair and her father gave his new son-in- [425] [583]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148B]
[P. 147-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Owner cried out, 'It sure was broken last year. 778
Everyone saw it. But now it doesn't look like it 276
was broken.' That is a very strange thing about 173
this Pipe that my children have, here. It was
broken, but when they opened the Bundle again,
it was all right. That's very strange."

Running Wolf and Heavy Shield are remem- 793
bered as Owners of our Pipe during the Old Days. 778
One of its former Owners, White Horn, John 551
Many Chiefs, gave me the following list of the
Bundle's Owners as far back as he knew them: [115]

1. Lizard Shoulder
2. Eagle Arrow
3. Frank Red Crow
4. Red Beads
5. John Cotton
6. Red Leggings
7. Bumble Bee
8. Arthur Healy
9. Wings
10. Bob Black Plume
11. Crow-Spreads-His-Wings
12. John Many Chiefs
13. Laurie Plume
14. Willie Scraping White (Wolf Old Man)
15. Bob First Charger
16. Frank Red Crow
17. Jim Red Crow
18. Stabs Down
19. Adolf Hungry Wolf

Arthur Healy is the earliest Owner still liv- 793
ing. He was just a young man when he received 778
the Bundle. It was a gift when he married the
daughter of its former Owner, old Bumble Bee. [584]
Healy transferred the Bundle to old Wings, who
died not long ago.

Wings took over our Bundle sometime in the [858]
1920s. The minipoka of his father, Day Old Man,
he joined the Pigeon Society when he was only [575]●
ten years old. At fifteen he became a member of [561]

292
237
778
534
793

Eagle Arrow. The eagle-bone whistle and the feathers are his Medicine. (Glacier Studio)

---

the Brave Dogs. At the age of thirty-five he joined 793
the Horns. 778

For several years Wings worked on his [575]
brother's farm and then on the reserve's agency
farm. Because the agent liked Wings, he was [561]
often given pleasant jobs like driving to town in a 793
buggy to pick up mail and groceries. Eventually 778
the agent decided to set up Wings on a farm of
his own. Wings chose a vacant piece of land on 657
the reserve and became a "homesteader" (an option [464]
still open to members of the band). The
agent loaned him eight good horses, a wagon, a [426]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Our head chief at the end of the Buffalo Days was Red Crow. Before him our head chief was Red Crow's uncle, Pinukwiim, or "Seen-From-Afar." He was so named because he often traveled great distances to visit people of other tribes. There is a story that he led a party of men as far south as Mexico, a journey that took about a year. Pinukwiim brought back the Different-People Pipe from one of his visits to the Mandan People, who lived far to the east in the area of present-day North Dakota. 778 175 484

Pinukwiim and his wife boarded a keel-boat belonging to the American Fur Company for part of their trip east. They left Fort McKenzie in present-day northern Montana, in the spring of 1833, after the ice broke up in the Missouri River. The company was shipping its winter trade of hides and furs and was eager to have the trade of the Blackfoot divisions, in whose country Fort McKenzie was located. It was to the company's advantage to have an influential man like Pinukwiim riding one of their boats. [439]

They passed through the dangerous country of the Assiniboine tribe in order to reach the fur company's Fort Union at the junction of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. Our people and the Assiniboines are traditional enemies, but a brief peace had been brought about by the fur company before Pinukwiim's journey. [648]

At Fort Union, Pinukwiim and his wife met a party of Mandan People, who invited them to their earth lodge village. They were treated with honor and respect during their stay. The Mandans gave them each a Powerful holy Bundle when they prepared to return home. His wife was given a sacred buffalo headdress from a Mandan women's society. This headdress was later taken into our own Motokiks Society. Pinukwiim was given the sacred Pipe we now call the Different-People Pipe in memory of the Mandans and their earth lodges. [648] [177] [575]

The return trip took thirty-four days. The German explorer Prince Maximilian noted in his journal that he saw the Blood couple in a Hidatsa

[p. 157-A]

would be brought to trial before the Owner and 778
his society. He said that I would have to pay a 425
lot more on the Pipe because I had stolen it.

Some time passed and I heard people say that Long Mane's Pipe was stolen. They didn't know yet who it was. Then Bob Black Plume came to my house, and he told me, "They have found out you stole that Pipe."

Then Long Mane sent word for me to go to 778
his house. When I got there, he said, "You stole 432
my Pipe. In the spring we will have your trial. You set the date when you will be prepared for the trial." I said, "I am ready to take it any time. I have all my payments ready." Then he asked me, "How do you stand? How much do you intend to give me so that I will let you out of the trial?" My brother had given me five ten-dollar bills. I gave them to Long Mane and he said, "That will do for a start." Then he measured my feet and my wife's for the moccasins they would make
for us. He said, "Just say when, so I can tell my [575] ●
comrades, the Crazy Dogs, because it's their Pipe too." [They had helped with the payments during his transfer.]

As soon as the days were nice, I sent word to him to come up and transfer the Pipe to me. When the day came he set up his tipi by my house. I had my Pipe transferred to me at my home. That's the right way if the transfer is not during the Sun Dance. All the Crazy Dogs came. Laurie Plume led the transfer ceremony. I paid really good on the Pipe. All my relatives came and helped me.

So that is how I stole my Pipe. I'm the only one still living who stole a holy Pipe; just me, Willie Eagle Plume.

STEVE OKA'S PIPE

While mourning over the loss of his wife, Steve 778
Oka found no comfort in the Medicine Pipe their friend Mike Eagle Speaker had given the couple as a present a long time before. No one from the
reserve made any effort to claim the Pipe. (Sacred [768]
Bundles are usually cared for by someone else [425]

[p. 163-B]

my skills are often as nothing. The world has 178
changed so much that many of my natural medi- 758
cines have no Power over the new illnesses which the People often seem to suffer. Some persons claim to have instant remedies for all sorts of complicated ailments, but I know from experience that successful doctoring comes only after much knowledge and devotion. Unless the doctor and patient both live in the same Ways, it is hard to cure with prayers if those prayers are only words which pass from one to the other. There must be a strong understanding. That is why I only doctor our Old People anymore."

GEORGE FIRST RIDER

In a modern pink house just outside the town of 156
Cardston, Alberta, lives a controversial man named George First Rider. George was the only child of the famed doctor and Horns priest, Dog Child. Dog Child was proud of his only son and taught him everything he knew. He gave presents to the old, knowledgeable men so they would teach his son. Unusually intelligent, George learned the many songs and stories quite well. He asked his Teachers to explain many things other students simply accepted and memorized. He was interested in a holy life beyond being able to repeat ancient rituals.

George First Rider is now in his seventies and still very active. He has short gray hair, very light skin, and blue eyes—rather startling for the son of two full-blooded parents. He drives a shiny pickup truck with a camper and often wears a suit and tie, which add to his white appearance.
George is a minister in the local chapter of the [799]
Full Gospel Church. Although he actually understands English quite well, like many of our Old [191]
People he often refuses to speak it because of pride and fear of making mistakes.

George's intelligence and appearance have al- 575
ways caused him difficulty. Long ago, when he 156
tried to join the Horns Society, the man whose [186]

Bundle he wanted told him, "I'm not giving up 156
my membership to no white man!" Through a 575 •
more sympathetic member, he was able to join
the Horns. But others resented him because he [186]
dared to question things they had simply accepted.
In the Old Days his aggressive character 156
would have helped him become a powerful
leader; but in the twentieth century most of our
People have been mainly interested in quietly carrying
on the remnants of our Old Ways. George's
efforts to accomplish what might have helped
continue the Old Ways were casually ignored by
some and harshly rejected by others.

For many years, George countered his social
failures with alcohol and stealing. Though he
knew as much as anyone about the Old Ways, he
felt that he was not living the successful life he
deserved from all his years of learning and devotion.
A few years ago he began embracing his new [797]
religion, which gave him the strength to give up
evil ways. A sticker on the back of his truck reads:
JESUS LOVED THE DEVIL OUT OF ME. To him the
devil now includes many of our Old Ways, as well
as his own ways with liquor and theft. Although [177]
his lifetime of leadership training helped him become
a minister of his new religion, all the specific
Indian Teachings were of no use to him
"after he became a white man" as his wife says.
But George's knowledge has not gone to waste.

Not long ago, the Alberta Provincial Museum 156
and Archives realized that the knowledge 177
and customs among our People would be lost forever
unless they were recorded. This would be
difficult, however, as the Blood People have long
been known for their unwillingness to talk to outsiders
about our Old Ways; some subjects, such as
the Horns Society and the Motokiks, are never
discussed at all. This was no problem for George
First Rider. He had the knowledge of the Old
Ways and no longer felt restricted to talk about
them. Moreover, he felt he deserved some compensation
for all the payments made to his
Teachers and all the years devoted to learning the

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

End of First Week

575
796 For many people in our encampment, the most important ceremonies involved the Horns Society and their transfer of memberships. These ceremonies were to be the last major event of the encampment, which, incidentally, it has always been their duty to organize. Although many aspects of the Horns' activities are too esoteric for anyone who has not been initiated to understand, the public parts of their ceremonies are for the benefit of all the People.

[p. 202-c]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

The Horns Society

Officially, the Horns Society ceremonies could not 575
begin until the Motokiks had finished theirs. On 796
the fourth morning after the women had put up
their lodge they took it down, signifying the end
of their celebration. A few husbands helped with
the dismantling. In a short time only the Center [782]
Pole remained standing, an offering to the Holy
Powers. The women gathered around it and
raised their headdress sticks toward the top. They
prayed and sang and no doubt asked for strength
and good luck so that they might all join together
again the next summer. Then they left their sticks
tied to the bottom of the Center Pole, along with
cloth offerings for the Spirits that had been with
them during their ceremonies.

With the Motokiks' lodge down, our atten- 575
tion turned to the Horns Society's. It had been 796
made with two tipi covers. Two frames had been 346
set up very close to one another so that the tipis
seemed to intersect, one opening into the other.
Actually, the poles that would have intersected
had been left out of the structure, making one
oblong frame over which were spread the two tipi
covers. One of the covers was white; the other was
partly painted with red symbols.

Not far from the lodge of the Horns was a large white tipi in which those members of the Magpie Society who were to become Horns were holding their meetings.

That night, not long after Sunset, we heard 575
the Horns singing for the first time during the 533

[p.203-A]

575
796
782

The Motokiks gather around their sacred Center Pole for one last prayer and blessing, before hanging up their Bundles for the year.

encampment. At the start, several hand drums 575
beat in unison a steady rhythm to accompany the 533
men and women singing the comrade songs of
their society. We all listened quietly and respect- [534]
fully. The singing continued late into the night, a
spiritual form of entertainment that was to be
repeated during the next few nights.

The members of the Horns Society slept in 575
their double lodge during the nights of their cere- [796]

monies. Food was cooked in other tipis and 575
brought to them at mealtimes. Every morning the [796]
members brought out their ancient sacred bags
and Bundles and hung them from several long [778]
wooden tripods set up behind their lodge, to the [417]
west.

SOCIETY TRANSFER CEREMONY: 1891

As a non-member, it would be improper for me to 123
say much about the activities of the Horns during
our encampment. However, Robert Wilson re- 127
corded the public activities of the Horns Society transfer ceremony of 1891. The events he witnessed were basically the same as those that took place in our camp.

An enclosure had been built in the middle of 575
the space inside the large circular camp. This en- 796
closure was round and about 40 feet in diameter. 346
It was constructed of travoix, lodge poles and lodge canvas. The travoix, 18 in number, were set up in pairs resting together at the top. These nine pairs were placed at equal distances from each other in a circle and between each pair was tied horizontally a single lodge pole. The poles were about 3½ feet from the ground and over them was thrown lodge canvas thus making a continuous wall or shelter for the inmates who had spent one night there. Between the two most easterly pairs of travoix, the pole and canvas had been omitted which left a means of egress and exit for the crowd of men, women and horses that thronged the place.

Sitting with their backs to the wall inside the 575
shelter, and forming except at the entrance an 796
unbroken circle of men, sat the 18 old members 432
of the Society in company with their assistants [called Partners], and some old men who acted as instructors. In front of each old member a staff was stuck upright in the ground. Nine of these were long poles, 10 feet or thereabouts, with 10

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

inches of their upper ends bent down almost in a 575
perfect half-circle and tied in that position by a 796
leather strand. This gave the 9 large staffs a striking 432
resemblance to the crooks of ancient shepards. A 10th man had stuck in front of him a 10 foot [411]
spear with an iron head, and all of the others had simply a short plain stick about 4 feet in height. Upon each of these upright staffs were tied one or more of the long painted and fringed raw-hide bags always seen hanging upon a tripod at the back or west side of an Indian house or lodge. In front of each staff sat the candidate for membership and his assistant. The relatives and friends of candidates were busy bringing in horses, guns, and great quantities of lodge goods, as well as numerous blankets and articles of mens clothing, etc. These were the payments for membership [424]
which were laid down near the groups about the staffs, and were then taken possession of and carried away by wives, daughters or other relatives of the old members.

Property changed hands in a lively manner for over an hour. When all the necessary and voluntary payments had been made and the space in the centre of the enclosure was clear, the ceremonies of initiation and installment were prepared for. First of all a small fire was built in the centre, for red-hot coals were necessary to make incense. When the fire had burnt down sufficiently for the purpose, each candidate, or his assistant, went to it and took upon a forked stick, a single coal which he carried with great care to his altar, which was a spot 12 or 14 inches square between the staff and where each candidate and companion sat.

These altars were made as the Indians usually make them, simply by cutting and scraping away the sod to the depth of an inch or more. An [787]
Indian standing near me remarked that should one of the men have dropped to the ground the coal he was carrying between the fire and the altar, it would have been considered a bad omen.

The 18 coals were all safely deposited at the

[p.204-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

centre of the 18 altars, and the old members 575 ●
made incense by sprinkling upon them a small 796
quantity of dried grass. Each old member next 432
made four passes with his hands from incense to
the bag on the staff and then untied it and after
passing it [four times to the altar] he laid it upon
the ground. The bags were at once opened and
the head dresses etc., which they contained were
taken out and exposed to view. Each candidate [302]
was now painted by the old member whose regalia
and position in the Society he was about to
acquire. Some were painted red, others yellow; in
all cases they were painted from head to foot.
Some had their faces painted jet black and a red
stripe from ear to ear across the eyes and another
red stripe across the mouth. In the meantime, the
wives of 4 of those who sat behind the short staffs
were putting together 4 large war bonnets which
they stuck upon the staffs. A number of dark
clouds from the north were at this time overshadowing
the camp and from them a few drops
of rain were falling, the appearance in fact was in
favour of a rainy afternoon. Running Wolf, two [782]
other men and Running Wolf's wife stood up in [789]
a row facing the entrance and behind them stood
an old man who in a loud voice prayed that the
rain storm should pass to one side or the other
and not interfere with the sacred proceedings. He
prayed 4 times with a pause between each.

White Calf now took down, or rather pulled
up, Running Wolf's staff and held it horizontally
over the altar. In a loud voice he made a prayer, [782]
and when near the end of it, he put a daub or two [531]
of red earth paint upon it. At the conclusion of
the prayer he covered the pole from one end to
the other with the red earth which was mixed
with grease and of a pink shade. When White
Calf had finished, all the other poles were taken
up by the instructor of old members and painted
in the same manner, but all the short staffs and
some of the long ones were yellow. From each of
the bags before mentioned, was taken a long strip
of fur with which to wrap the long staffs from end

[p.205-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

to end. With slow and deliberate motions this 575
part was performed. Gathering up the whole strip 796
in a bunch in his hand, the old instructor passed 432
it 4 times to the altar and then tied one end securely to the extremity of the crook. He then proceeded to wind the fur spirally and closely down the length of the staff covering the wood completely. None of the fur was allowed to touch
the ground during the operation. At the lower [237]
end, 4 foot of the pole, the wrapping was fastened [824]
again, and against it was bound some braided and dried grass used by this Society for incense and a dried bladder bag of the buffalo.

Running Wolf's crook was wrapped with [237]
white swan's skin, the others with otter. All the fur was about one inch in width. All of the long staffs and the spear were wrapped as described, each with the grass and bladders at the bottom. At the end of each crook and at three places down its length was tied a bunch of two eagle feathers, the spear alone had a 4 or 5 inch strip of black and white cotton tied loosely to its full length. The wife of the chief of the outgoing members now took the swan-covered staff, and wearing a small horned head dress also of white swan skin, she walked over and took up a position near the entrance but facing inwards. She also carried in her arms a bundle of clothing rolled in a blanket. Bear Back Bone next got up, wearing nothing but a breech cloth and moccasins, and stooping low, with a slow and solemn pace, he approached the woman; close behind him walked Running Wolf, also stooping or rather hiding behind the others. When Bear Back Bone [the name was actually Bear Shin Bone] reached the squaw, he straightened up to his height and, after reverently passing his hands from the top of her head to the shoulders, he kissed her upon the left cheek. She then handed him the pole and headdress. Running Wolf next lifted his head up and with same solemn pass with the hands also kissed her and received from her the bundle of clothing. They slowly returned to their place in the circle,

[p. 205-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

stooping as before, the squaw bringing up the 575
rear. 796

The same ceremony was gone through with 432
the 4 large war bonnets, but the latter moved in a
direction contrary to the course of the Sun while
the others followed it. The candidates were at [782]
once dressed in their new clothing and Running
Wolf, Bear Back Bone and another stood up in a
row as before, while White Calf 4 times prayed
aloud that the rain should not fall. The blanket
Bear Back Bone had received was folded up and
laid upon the ground. Its owner took a kneeling
position, facing it. White Calf made a pass with
both hands from the altar to Bear Back Bone's
head, one to his shoulder, a 3rd to his waist and
the 4th to his hips, giving this time a gentle push
at which Bear Back Bone jumped nimbly over the
blanket without altering his stooping position. He
sat upon the blanket while Running Wolf was
put through the same maneuver, then all ditto.

This finished the installment of the new 575
members and now they prepared for the dance. 796
Four drums we brought in and deposited at the
middle of the circle, and the head-dresses were all 432
placed upon their new owners. An old Chief 535
"Morning Paper" [Morning Writing] counted 4 [555]
coups, and the drummers struck up at once. All
the staffs were pulled up and all the men, new
members, old, and instructors, jumped to their
feet and the dance began. The step was one
peculiar to the Society, and a rather lively one for
some of the older men to perform. They held
their poles in front, lowering the tops to about an
angle of 45 degrees. At intervals they would reverse
all together and dance facing the low wall of
the enclosure. They all made a continual peculiar
sound, something between a coo and a low shout
and in time to the drums. The dance lasted about
4 minutes, during which they reversed 4 or 5
times. Next they formed a procession, led by one
wearing a large war bonnet which had an arrow
sticking in head piece. They danced towards the
entrance. As many times as the leader reversed, all

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

followed suit; after many times turning about, 575
they approached the entrance and the leader went 796
out and the procession followed in the form of 432
one irregular column with the squaws bringing up 535
the rear, carrying the short staff. They danced towards the east and between the lodges until, when quite outside of the camp, a halt was made and the procession reformed. Running Wolf mounted a white horse and the second leader of the Horns mounted a dark one. These two riders took positions far in the lead, about one hundred yards ahead, and the same distance from each other. Fifteen of the others formed a line; behind them walked the 4 drummers in a second line, and the women as before brought up the rear in a
third line. Midway between the line of men and [237]
each rider was a dismounted man; one of them had in his hand an Indian standard, an otter skin [actually a fisher skin] decorated with beads and bells. They marched in this way around to the Southern side of the camp, the drums beating time but not loudly. When about ¼ the distance around the camp had been made, or when they were opposite the South side, they halted and danced a few minutes. The mounted men dismounted and danced where they stood, their horses being held by boys. The march was renewed as before. A second halt and dance at the West, a 3rd at the north and a 4th at the East, the spot where they had first formed a line, completed the outside of the camp march and they prepared to reenter the camp by taking the same positions and formation as when they came out. Dancing all together, the tom-toms beating loudly, they returned to the centre of the camp space.

Their enclosure had in the meantime been 575
taken down and carried away, but they all sat 796
down near where it had been and in about the 432
same positions that they had held inside of it. The 4 large war bonnet wearers took them off and
hung them up upon their short staffs. When they [271]
had been sitting, resting for half an hour, a

[p. 206-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

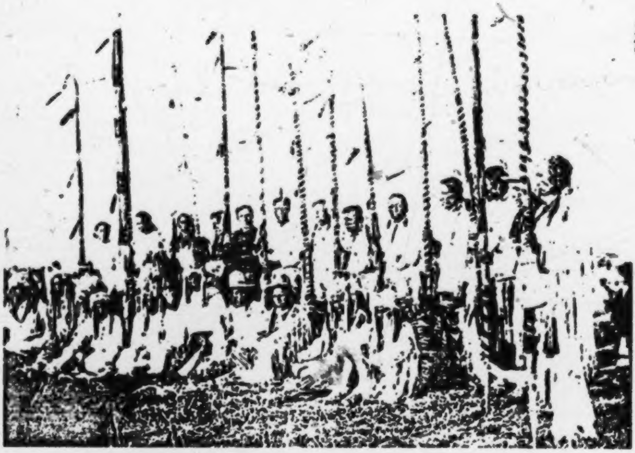
[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

woman appeared and stood about 50 yards to the 575 ●
East of them, holding in her hands a bowl of 796
water. Two of the dancers got up and slowly 432
walked towards her, as before stooping low, one
behind the other. The leading man kissed her, in [271]
the same solemn fashion as before, received from
her the water, some of which he drank and after
passing the bowl to his companion, who had in
the meantime also kissed the squaw, he handed
her a small bundle of clothing. The other man
now finished drinking and deposited the empty
bowl upside down upon the ground at the feet of
the woman. They now returned, as they came, to
their places and the squaw picked up the bowl
and went home. Two other women brought water
for the thirsty and the same performance was
gone through. In one case three men came out
instead of two. These squaws were the wives of [132]
late members of the Society, and considered that
they were doing a very sacred duty in allowing

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 206-B]

[p. 207-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

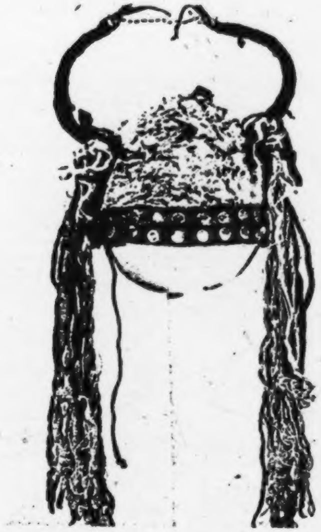


Members of the Horns Society around 1920. The leader's Swan Staff is the third one from the left, next to the bannerlike one of the secondary leader. The man holding the fifth staff from the right is the head chief, Shot-on-Both-Sides. The three men in the straight-up headdresses are Wings, Willie White Feathers, and Weasel Moccasin. On the chief's right is Laurie Plume. Second after him is Mokakin. (Glenbow Archives)

[P207-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

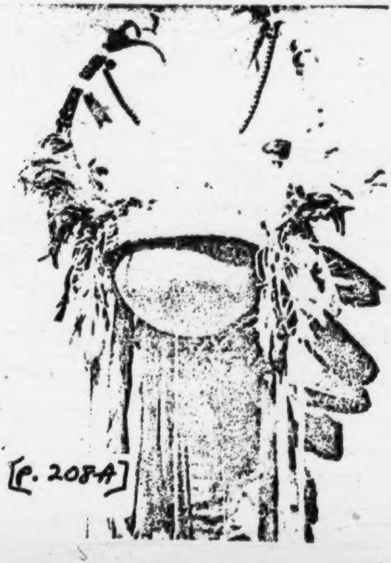
575 ●
292



A headdress of the Horns Society on display at the Alberta Provincial Museum.

A horned Medicine headdress on display at the Alberta Provincial Museum.

575
779
292



[p. 208-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

themselves to be publicly kissed. In fact there was 575
not a smile upon the face of any of the actors, 796
nothing to suggest anything other than a religious
duty, but I could not restrain a smile as I saw 432
Spotted Bull, who is a notorious wag, solemnly [832]
kissing the wife of Mas-tak-ath who is one of the
most handsome women in the tribe. White Calf [782]
stood behind two men and a woman, facing the East, and shouted aloud a prayer. They then faced the South, he prayed again; changing to the West again, he called out a prayer and finally repeating with faces to the North they all sat down.

A group of women and old people, not mem- 575
bers of the Society, were sitting near the circle of 796
dancers, for the purpose of having prayers 432
shouted over them. The dancers stood close to 535
these sitting people and facing them always so that they had to move in a circle themselves in facing the 4 different directions. This performance was repeated by two other parties of four persons each. Next a dance was indulged in. The main party danced in a circle around those sitting on the ground, being led by one with the arrow in his war bonnet. The other three with large headdresses danced outside of the rest and circled in the opposite direction, and against the Sun. The speed was increased to a fast hop and then the leader stopped suddenly and without turning hopped backwards 5 or 6 times for perhaps half of the circle, during which they reversed as often as they halted. After a brief pause the dance was repeated and, in all, it was done 4 times; then all
sat down. Running Wolf's crook was carried over [555]
to some old men who sat about 50 yards to the north of the party; one of these took Running Wolf's crook and counted 4 coups. The drummers beat an applause or response after each coup and the crook was carried back to its owner. The same was done for the second leader.

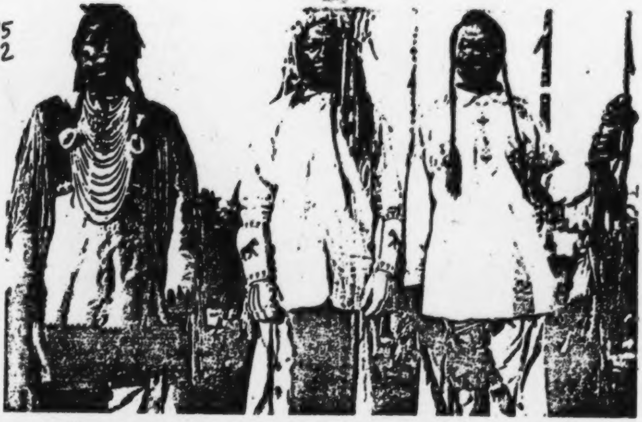
After a rather extended rest, they all got up and the closing dance was performed. "Little Shield," the wearer of the war bonnet with the arrow in it, not being an active man, handed his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 210-A]

[p. 208-B]

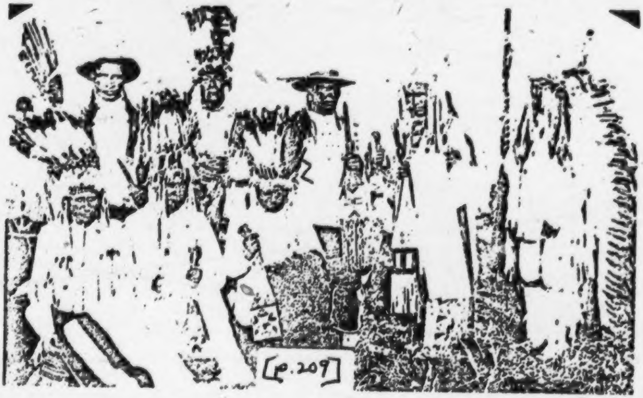
21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

● 575
292



Horns Society members, around 1920. Left: Long-Time Squirrel. Center: Head Chief Shot-on-Both-Sides, wearing the Opposite-Dance Headdress. Right: Rough Hair, holding the fisher skin. (Glenbow Archives)

Members of the Horns Society around 1920. Standing, from left to right: Bob Riding Black Horses; old Chief Calf (supposedly), wearing the Headdress-with-a-Red-Plume; Weasel Calf; SweetGrass; and Crazy Crow with the arrow in front. In the foreground, wearing the straight-up headdresses: Mike Oka; Not Good; and Weasel Moccasin.



[p.209]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

head-dress to Spotted Bull, because the final 575
dance had to be led by the regalia. Around the 796
circle they rapidly hopped. The Leader was 432
closely followed by two of the other large war 535
bonnets, the 4th one along circling in the opposite direction and outside the rest.

A dense crowd had gathered about the dance by this time. After dancing around the circle several times, the leader made a feint to go through the crowds of people at the east and each time he came around he danced a little closer, being driven back through by the boys and young men who shook their blankets at him as they would at an animal. Someone handed Spotted Bull a rifle and the next time he came around to the East, he, still hopping, charged right at the people. Blankets were shaken in his face and the crowd did not give way for him until he fired a shot over their heads, at which all fell back allowing the procession to dance out into the open ground. The assembled crowd now dispersed.

The Society returned to where they had been 575
sitting and waited there until the lodges of two of 796
their members were taken down in the camp and
moved over to them by the women. The members [346]
then took charge of the material of the two lodges
and out of it constructed one big oblong lodge
into which they entered. This was their permanent abode for the remainder of the time the
Bloods were in camp. This society did not dance
again, but religious duties and the rites were performed by them every day afterwards. Such is the [784]
dance of the mysterious order of Atskiniax, about
whose sacred rites the middle-aged will talk in
whispers to you, telling you every few minutes
that it is very dangerous to talk about it at all.

OUR OWN HORNS TRANSFER

The new Horns have made a concerted effort to 575
regain the respect of the People and to learn as 186
much about the Ways of their society as they can
from former members who are still living. They

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

have carefully traced the disposition of all the 575 ●
missing society Bundles, locating ten of them, and, 186
as of this writing, are negotiating for their return
to the society.

For some time before last summer's Horns 575
membership transfer ceremony, families of the 432
new members went around the camp circle, one
at a time, displaying their payments for the mem- [424]
bership. Old People walked ahead of each proces-
sion, calling out the name of the new member [887]
and singing words of praise for him. Mokakin was
the most popular man in camp for this duty, and
before long his voice was so hoarse and broken he
could barely be heard. Among the processions he
led was one for Ponah's nephew, Cyril Red Crow.
To help him with his payments, his sister and her
husband, Stabs Down, paid the quarter horse we
had given to them some time earlier when we
took our Medicine Pipe. Most of the horses [292]
shown as payments were covered with fine blan-
kets, while those who led them wore buckskin
suits and eagle feather headdresses. All these
goods were to be given as payments.

The transfer ceremony was held inside a 575
fenced circular enclosure. Spectators crowded out- 432
side to see functions similar to those described by 796
Wilson. Within the enclosure was a large crowd
of old members, new members, and former mem-
bers, all with their wives. The former members
served as advisors to both old and new members.
A couple of the retiring members were South Pie- [484]
gans who had come up for the occasion from
Montana.

When the new members had made their
rounds outside the camp circle, they were pre-
ceded by their leaders, one on a black horse and
one on a white, just as Wilson observed. The [292]
dance leader wore the ancient headdress with a
feather stuck in the front to represent the arrow
once shot into the forehead of a long-ago, simi-
larly headdressed dance leader. The original arrow
remained lodged in its place while the wearer of
the headdress led his party of Bloods to a victory
against the enemy. This battle and victory are re- [541]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

575
432

Atsitsina and relatives displaying the saddle horse, shawl, and headdress being paid by Fred Eagle Plume for his membership in the Horns. [435] [424]

---

enacted during each summer's dance, the symbolic battle ending when the leader fires his gun into the air and charges through the crowd of children, who are the "enemy." 575 432 796

As part of their performance, the Horns gave away rations of food to all the adults in the crowd. At the same time, the staffs of the two leaders were blessed by two old men who each called out four brave deeds. The leader's Swan Staff was brought to our Old Man; it had once been his, when he had been leader of the Horns. He called out four exploits of horse raiding, and said a prayer. The other staff was taken to Ben Calf Robe, the old man who had come down to visit the encampment from his home on the North Blackfoot Reserve. He had also been a member of the Horns Society, which is now inactive there. [541] [431] [782] [555] [887]

[p.211-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

A 1935 ACCOUNT:
GEORGE FIRST RIDER

To complete this story, here is an excerpt from George First Rider's narrative of a past Horns Society.

796
575

During the winter in the year 1935, the Horns Society started to collect. My partner, Elk Bear, was given the authority to hold the collections. He said, "My friend First Rider will hold the money collections." The Horns members all agreed for me to hold the money. That day my life was still bad, [*because of*] *my drinking, stealing, and all the bad habits in my life. But still I was given the job to be the treasurer. At pay days* [*when the People received treaty payments*], *I collected the money. I even had a secretary to keep the files. I had come to think of the job as religious, so I thought I'd stand good on it. . . .*

So, the Horns Society collected $500—and I held the money. The Horns members said, "We will give $250 to the one that is going to sponsor an Okan so she can use the money to buy what she needs." Then the Horns Society members selected the major Bundle Owners [*of Society Bundles*]: *four men were selected, I was one of them, and two of us went east on the reserve, two to the west, to tell all the Blood People of the coming assembly. . . .*

In two days the Blood Indians were all at the circle camp. Two days after that, the Horns Society went around visiting the women that could sponsor Holy Lodges, but none volunteered. Since no one volunteered, we invited the owner of the Motokiks Center Pole [*the leader of that society*] *to sit outside our tipi. She couldn't come inside because only members and their wives are allowed in the double-lodge of the Horns. She was told to erect her lodge. She was given $100 to put up her Motokiks lodge. We kept the other $400. At this point she assembled the Motokiks. . . .*

On the night of the fourth day at the camps,

[p. 211-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society 1935]

796 575 *the Horns Society members and the Motokiks assembled, standing in a line outside the Horns lodge, and chanted a song. Then came an announcement. Low Horn spoke: "Okaha-aaai! In the coming morning the Horns are going to have a dance. This coming morning the Motokiks will build their lodge. Medicine Pipe Owners, Beaver Bundle Owners, Pigeons, and All Brave Dogs—get yourselves ready to beat your livers!* [*An ancient expression which meant to have an exciting dance.*]

In the morning I took my team and my wagon and with some members and another, empty wagon, we all went to Cree Speaker at Stand Off. [443] [*Cree Speaker was a white man named McNeill who could speak the Cree language. He had a general store and post office on the west side of the Belly River, at Stand Off.*] *The monies were $400, so we took some grub with $100, then we drove back. The place where we were going to have our dance was already staked out, so the grub was unloaded there and the wagons were taken away.*

[302] *Then we went inside the Horns lodge. There, we untied our Society Bundles and painted all the Staffs. . . . We bound them, fixed up our headdresses, and painted our faces with yellow paint. . . . I painted my face with yellow paint and with red painted streaks across my face.*

796 575 535 *The drummers came in and sat inside the door. They sat with their backs to the fireplace* [*because they were not current members*] *and then they sang. . . . As they sang we danced out the door and formed a line outside. . . . We danced forward four times and then we danced to the east exit of the camp circle. With the black horse on the outside and the white horse on the inside toward the camp circle, the riders mounted and we went forward. . . .*

The leader walked on the South side, behind the rider. He owns the headdress that was shot in the forehead. [*This is the dance leader, not the*

[p. 212-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society 1935]

society leader.] The White-Arch-Staff owner rode 796
in front. [This is the staff wrapped with a white 535
swan skin and carried by the society's leader.] 575 ●
The owner of the Arm Band rode across behind.
[This is the secondary leader of the society.] The
riders dismounted and we all danced. . .

The riders walked their horses real fast. The drummers walked behind. Behind the drummers are the Horn Society women [wives of the members] on foot. Behind them are more riders; they are just mounted spectators. . . .

When we got all the way around the camp circle we danced back in at the east side. The leader danced in front. We danced four by four. We got up to the double-lodge on the fourth song, and the singing stopped. We stood in order. We all had tipi pegs and an oblong stone ready. Everyone was hammering pegs into the ground [to make holes] and then we all stuck the arch staffs into the holes. . . . We all put our robes behind the staffs and everybody sat down in order. The women sat in the centre.

Now the grub. There was a cow that was [262]
slaughtered, and some berry soups, and there
were some white-man fruits to make puddings. [264]
The Horns distributed the food, and after every-
one ate we got up and danced. The People who
made vows to dance with Horns Society staffs
danced with a staff. The Horns danced four times [431]
and they stopped dancing, and then they gave
away the things that they received. [A person who [432]
vows to dance with a certain staff will give its [424]
owner some kind of payment for getting to share
the Power of that staff.] After we gave away the [782]
stuff, the staff owners pulled out their staffs and
pegs. When a staff is pulled out, a pinch of to- [276]
bacco is put in the hole and then the hole is
tamped shut. . . .

Next, we went outside where a crowd of spectators formed around in a circle to watch the dancing. The leader led us around in the dance. There were a lot of girls and boys standing, watching on the east side. This is the time when the

[p. 212-8]

[Horns Society 1935]

leader took a rifle. Nobody saw it. It was wrapped; it was hidden. . . . 796 535

On the fourth dance [each dance consists of four rounds within the circle] we all stood in line. . . . During the start of this fourth and final dance, the leader danced in zigzag motion; he danced just like as if he was dodging enemy arrows. The children, boys and girls, threw manure at him. The leader continued dancing in zigzag motion, dodging from side to side, and the dancers behind him performed in the same manner. . . . Our leader was Low Horn. He danced just like as if he [was] going to charge. He danced a little ways out and then he turned and retreated. Then he danced right into the midst of the children before he was forced to turn back. The boys and girls were throwing manure at him. He was moving his head from side to side so that the manure would not hit him on the face. The manure was not thrown with full force. 575 [237]

Low Horn danced around again, holding the rifle in front of him, pointed up. . . . As the children were screaming, he danced right into the midst of them. He fired a shot and the children all fell down just as though they were killed.

The Horns members walked through the fallen children to the lodge, where we stuck our staffs into the ground, and then we wiped off our facial paints.

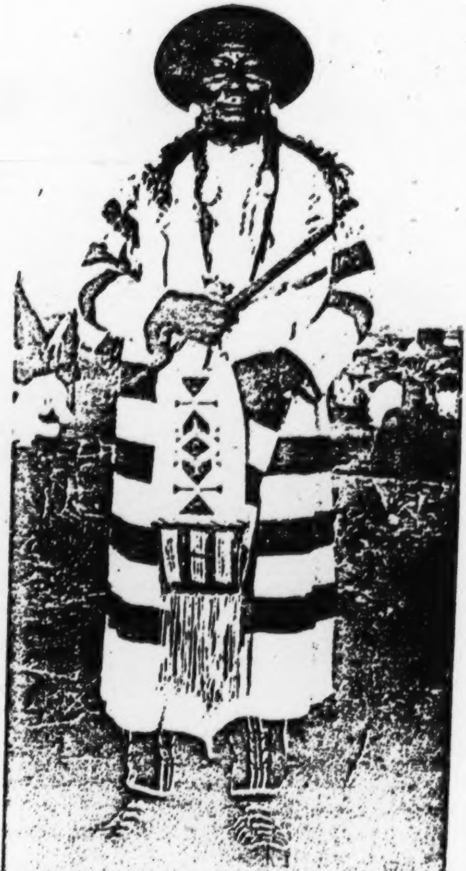
OTHER SOCIETIES

Today the Horns and Motokiks are the only traditional societies still active among our People. We don't know that any other women's society ever existed, but men used to have several to join, according to their age group and their experiences as warriors and leaders. Let me give you a brief Teaching about these societies so that you will understand how our People were motivated to form them and why they have respect for them. 575 [178] [561]

[p. 213-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

575
292
531



Mountain Horse, standing before a gathering of the Horns Society, in 1910. (Glenbow Archives)

[p.213-B]

Societies were formed to give members spiri- 575
tual strength as they faced, often alone, the many 182
physical challenges of daily life. This reassured
the People of the tribe that organized groups of 771
able men were always prepared to give assistance
and protection.

Members of societies belonged to various [619]
bands within a tribe, and therefore were not able to meet as a complete group during most of the year. Yet as each member went about his daily life, hunting and raiding with his family or others, he was strengthened spiritually, knowing that his comrades were near and far. He took pride in wearing his society's symbols and regalia, whether he was dancing in the camp circle or making a stand against an enemy party, and he knew that the Spirits of his fellow members were with him. If he happened to be in battle alone, he might cheer himself on by loudly announcing his membership in an ancient society whose members were known for bravery.

Men's societies often acted as the People's 575
militias and policemen. It was their duty to carry 625
out the chief's orders during tribal functions, so
that harmony would be preserved among every-
one. When camp was moved, society members
rode along the outskirts of the caravan to defend
it from enemy attacks. They helped stragglers and
scouted the trail ahead. During communal hunts,
society members kept the hunters together so that
none got too eager to move ahead of the others,
alarming the buffalo herds. (They punished such [681]
offenders by seizing and destroying their property.
Thus, in our Old Ways, a policeman is called a
"seizer.")

During the annual Sun Dance Encamp-
ments, members of some societies acted as seizers.
The head chief and his council of band chiefs [622]
made up the orders for the camp, and criers an- [203]
nounced the orders to the People. The societies
whose members would enforce the orders and [361]
keep peace in the camp set up their lodges inside
the camp circle, near the lodges of the chiefs, so
that they could observe what was going on all

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 215A]

[p. 214-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

● 575
346
778
561

Members of a young men's society, possibly the Pigeons, outside a Medicine Lodge around 1380. The tipi in the background has a Medicine Pipe Bundle tied over its doorway. (Ernest Brown)

[P.214.B]

around them. The societies for older men were 575
chosen for these duties. 625

There were seven men's societies in the Old
Days. Together, all their members were known as [361]
Ichkunakatsiiks, or "All-Comrades." These societies
included the Mosquitoes, Braves, Crow-Carriers, 575
Brave Dogs, Horns, Black Soldiers (or 561
Black Seizers), and Bulls. In later years of the
Old Days, the Bulls Society became extinct, while
the Pigeon Society formed in its place. The
youngest groups were the Pigeons and Mosquitoes;
the oldest were the Horns, Black Soldiers,
and Bulls. The ultimate in a warrior's life was to [554]
have been a member of all the societies.

The younger societies were mainly social.
The Pigeons were originally boys who had not
gone on any war raids. By the time they had been
on a few, they usually became members of the
Mosquito Society.

The Mosquitoes are said to have originated [787]
in the dream of a man who lay naked out on the
prairie and let swarms of mosquitoes suck blood
from him. While he was unconscious afterward, a
mosquito came to him and gave him the society
for his generosity. Each member would wear an [237]
eagle claw upon each wrist, to represent the
mosquito's bill. During ceremonies, the members [626]
would use the claw to scratch those who got in
their way. Anyone who resisted their symbolic [796]
scratches would be fallen upon by all the members
and severely scratched.

Each society had a ceremonial dance, during 575
which the members had their faces and bodies 796
painted and wore their society insignias. The significant [535]
part of the Braves' ceremonial dance was
the end, when all the members ran north out of
the camp circle and threw their moccasins into
the air to symbolize the discovery of a buffalo
herd. It is said that one time the barefoot mem-

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

bers suddenly noticed they were facing a large 575 ●
enemy war party that had concealed itself near 796
the camp. The Braves, carrying only their spears,
stood little chance in a direct encounter, so the
society leader ordered the members to resume
dancing. The performance so impressed the
enemy that they retreated.

Within these societies were usually two 575
members known as Bears. These Bears had the 554
publicly accepted right to appropriate food from
someone for the use of all the members. If they [425]
saw a successful hunter returning home they
could demand a portion of his meat to be used as
a meal for the society. The Bears could be identi- [292]
fied by their painting, clothing, and other insig-
nias, especially a headdress made from a strip of [237]
bear fur with two claws attached to resemble
small horns on the wearer's head. Percy Creighton [439]
bought one of these headdresses from old Gam-
bler and sold it to Mrs. Walters for forty-five dol- [435]
lars. It had belonged to the Brave Dogs Society.

Some of our older men are still members of 575
the now-inactive Brave Dogs Society, as it is
known among our division. The Piegans call the
same group the Crazy Dogs Society. Meetings of [619]
one group may be attended by members from
other divisions. They can often be recognized dur- [531]
ing our social dances, or powwows, by their mem-
bership insignias—individually painted rawhide [237]
rattles, which they carry suspended from their [534]
wrists by fur straps. Traditionally, each member
painted his face according to the design on his [302]
rattle.

Social societies of male contemporaries are 575
still formed among our People. Today there are 178
the Red Belts, the Magpies, and the Parted-Hairs.
One group, called the Baggy Underwears, is mak-
ing an effort to take on a new name.

[p.215-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

● 575

Blood members of the Braves Society at Lethbridge in 1886. In the foreground are three of the society's four lance-bearers. Most of the members carry spears and paint their bodies symbolically. The Bear Braves are standing at the back (there seem to be five, although there should only be four). (Glenbow Archives)

[411]
[302]

Dance of the Pigeon Society (or Doves) as seen in 1907. The members are dancing in a circle. Each one carries a bow and arrows, and his body is painted. The photographer's feet can be seen in the foreground; he took these photos without permission while lying down as a spectator. (Glenbow Archives)

575
535
[411]
[302]

[p.216]

21: Hungry Wolf   F-4,5   (ca. 1972) 1977   NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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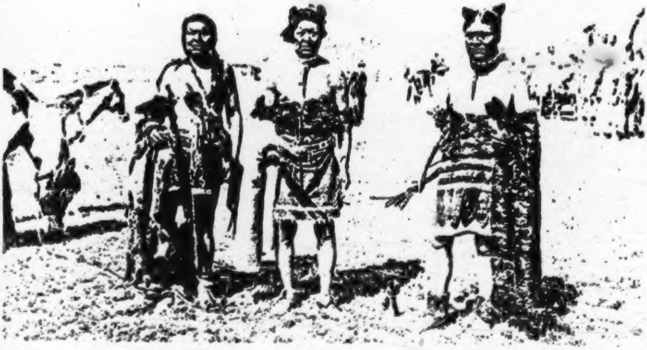
532

Mountain Horse, leader of the Crow Carriers Society, dressed for battle. He wears a Medicine headdress, as well as a weasel-tail suit of shirt and leggings. Each of these articles was transferred [422]
ceremonially. Symbols of scalps he has taken are tied to his rifle. The hand on his horse represents an enemy he killed in a hand-to-hand encounter; the two large spots represent places where horses [796]
he was riding were shot in battle. On the horse behind him is old Bumble Bee, who is holding a staff of the Crow Carrier's Society. Bumble Bee enlisted in the armed forces at the same time as [703]
did several of Mountain Horse's sons. However, he could speak no English and refused to cut his hair, so he was sent back home. Before he left he is said to have told the other Blood soldiers: [177]
"Don't be foolish like these white soldiers. They call off the war every day at mealtime. You boys want to keep on shooting, even if you see them sitting down to eat." (Glenbow Archives)

21: Hungry Wolf   F-4,5   (ca. 1972) 1977   NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



575
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411
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302
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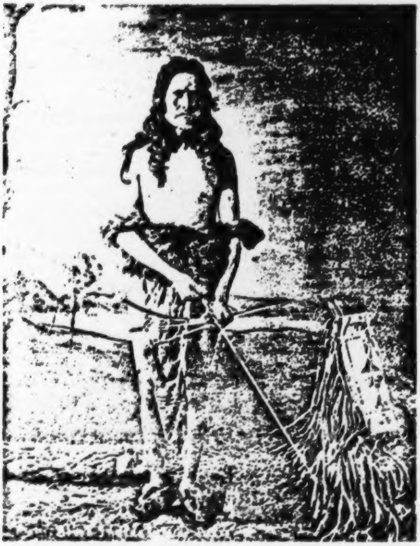
Bear Braves of the Pigeon Society at Fort MacLeod in 1924. On the left is Rough Hair. The other two men are North Piegan Bear Braves, wearing belts and arm bands of bear skin. Their hair is tied back and bear ears are fastened on top of their heads. All three members carry bows and arrows, and robes. (Glenbow Archives)

[P 218-A)

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



575
292
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302

Joe Healy, or Flying Chief, dressed in the regalia of a Bear Brave of the Pigeon Society, in 1886. (Russell)

[P218-B]

also probably took place with others, like the 535
Crows and Piegans. The most important Grass 439
Dance items were two feather belts, or "Crow
bustles," which were transferred just like other [292]
Medicines. They are still among our People at [778]
this time. [425]

Two aspects of the Grass Dance Society did
not endure very long among our People. One 535
concerned the eating of dogs, which was a custom 575
among those who originated the dance, but was 177
despised by most of the Bloods. The other con-
cerned the method of joining the society. Old [262]
members would elect new members, rather than
bringing them in by transfer. As an exception, [424]
memberships were transferred among those own-
ing important pieces of dance regalia. But
eventually it all became a social affair, without
memberships of any kind.

Grass Dances were held either outdoors or in 535
dance houses, which were special log buildings. [345]
Atsitsina tells this story of one place, down along
the Bullhorn River, called Black Place to Dance.

I have been to dances on a lot of different 535
reservations. . . . We have different songs for 533
different kinds of people who come to the Parted-
Hairs Dance [Grass Dance]. *We will have a song*
and dance for a very brave man, also for a person
who got wounded; for a person whose horse got
killed in battle; for a person that got beaten; for
a scared person; for a person who has had many
wives; for persons that gave many presents; and
one for a person who has cut a horse from in front
of an enemy's door. The last song was usually for [655]
those who were wounded in battle; they are the
ones who lead the others out of the dance house
after reenacting their war experiences.

Those long knives—some of the members car- 535
ried long knives [swords] *originally taken from* 626
the enemy. A person that doesn't want to dance
will get slapped on the leg with the long knife. [411]
But if they get slapped too hard then they are [431]
given a present. . . . And there is a whip. Once
it was used to whip Crow horses. We got it in a [721]
raid and we used it for getting people up to dance.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

In the Old Days, men danced to express their spiritual and physical powers and to stimulate their enthusiasm for bravery and for thoughts about life in harmony with nature. The dancers wore their fanciest war clothes and most spiritual dream symbols. Often they imitated their spiritual helpers, dressing and dancing in imitation of some bird or animal. The steps were usually slow and all the movements emphasized symbolic meanings. The men danced to inspire each other when they gathered with their society comrades. They danced to arouse the courage of a departing war party and they danced to celebrate the victory when the party returned successfully. In victory dances, the victors often took no part. Instead, their relatives, often wives or mothers, put on their war dress and bonnets and carried the trophies of the victorious battle around the dance circle. Guns and scalps were commonly held aloft, while the bearer called out the relative's name and praised his bravery and success. 535 771 [575] 535 727 [555]

As life in harmony with nature changed, so did the dancing. Dancing became more and more of a social affair, where the People gathered to sing and visit. As modern clothing replaced traditional dress, the social dances also became one of the few opportunities for the People to wear the old-time clothing. Those who could afford fancy clothes found this an opportunity to express their wealth and material success. The young men, of course, found these social dances fine for showing off and courting young women. Here is how Atsitsina remembers it: 535 771 178 [292] [556] [571]

The ladies will sit to one side, at a dance, and the men will sit on the other side. Before a lady 535 571

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 224-A]
[p. 222-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

159
reflection that he was going to be an old man. 869
That is why he was very aggressive. He knew he [787]
would not die before reaching old age. Myself,
I did not look into the badger blood.

Out on the plains there is a ridge, a place that 224
we call Writing-On. That is where my father 159
went camping and trapping and shooting. He
never trapped less than 200 muskrats; usually he
got around 500, 600, or 700. I know my father
once trapped 1,500 muskrats. In the beginning he [435]
could sell the pelts for 15 cents each. Later he was [178]
able to get 20 cents, then 25 cents, 30 cents—
always more as time went on. When old age
forced him to quit trapping, he got 75 cents for
each muskrat pelt. 159

My father was in the Black Seizers Society. 575
Once, when I went to a Black Seizers dance, they 561
painted my face. [Painting someone's face during [852]
the ceremony of a society or Bundle makes that
person a spiritual associate of the society or [302]
Bundle.] My friends, Wore White Pants [Harry
Spear Chief] and Tony, the son of Crane Chief,
were also painted. Their fathers, like mine, were
members of the Black Seizers, as well as elder
comrades in our own young man's society, the All
Brave Dog Society. ["Elder comrades" were once [869]
members of the young society; they taught the
songs and ceremonies to the young members.]

My father taught me the life of the Black
Seizers, the ones who tear our clothes. [The [431]
Seizers had the traditional right to demand food [626]
or other donations from the People in camp
during the society's gatherings. If refused, the
Seizers could tear up their clothing. They were
not particularly popular for this.] 159

My father made me join the Braves Society 575
and he taught me how they dance. I grew up and 869
carried on both the Indian Way of life and the [177]
white Way. . . .

One person alone didn't educate me. Ki-soum
taught me how to work the sweat lodges for the
Horns Society. Natosina taught me how the
Horns Society operates. So also did Three Guns

[p.233-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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George First Rider, dressed as a minipoka, in 1919.

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869
[575]●

and Sun Old Man, the wise one of the North Blackfoot Indians. On the North Blackfoot Reserve, me and Berry Eater [Amos Leather] taught each other songs about Medicine Pipes and the Holy Lodge.

Among the Blood Indians, I learned transfer ceremonies from Black Eagle and Dog Ribs. I

[p. 233-B]

to jail if he was heard doctoring again. Apparently 756
the threat had no effect to speak of, and the agent 177
never came back to carry it out. 657

SHOT-ON-BOTH-SIDES

It is difficult for a head chief to satisfy all the 622
People in his tribe, but old Shot-on-Both-Sides
must have done so. The Old People of today have
only good memories of him. He was born in 1874
and succeeded his father, Crop-Eared Wolf, as
head chief in 1913, a position he held until his
death in 1958. His son, Jim, succeeded him.

Some of our Old People refer to Shot-on- 622
Both-Sides by his father's name, Crop-Eared 551
Wolf, which he once used, and by his old-age 553

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286-B]

575 ●
291
142
302
301

Long-Time-Pipe-Woman, wife of Head Chief Shot-on-Both-Sides.

name, NatosApi, or "Sun Old Man." For most of 622
his life he was married to Long-Time-Pipe- 551
Woman, who died in 1955 at the age of eighty- 553
seven. For many years she was Pole-Owner and [575]
leader of the Motokiks.

Shot-on-Both-Sides was very faithful to the 622
Old Ways. He always wore his hair in braids and 178
wore shells as earrings. For more than thirty years
he and his wife took care of the Long-Time Pipe.
A member of the Horns Society nine times, he [302]
also belonged to lesser societies, including the
Pigeons, Mosquitoes, Braves, Crazy Dogs, Crow [301]
Carriers, and Black Seizers. He owned a number [575]
of painted lodges at different times, as well as the
famous One-Horn Headdress. He cut the hide for
the Medicine Lodge and owned both the big
drum and a sword from the early Grass Dancers,
or Parted-Hair Society.

In their old age, Shot-on-Both-Sides and [342]
Long-Time-Pipe-Woman lived in a one-room
frame house on the west side of the reserve. Their [352]
house was furnished very simply—a wood stove, a [354]
table, and a few chairs. They spent most of their
time on the floor, in the Old Way, where they
kept beds for sleeping and for entertaining most
of their visitors.

Old Shot-on-Both-sides will be best remem- [425]
bered for his encouragement in keeping alive the
Old Ways and for his defence of his People's
rights, including his refusal of many offers to give
up parts of the reserve.

CALF ROBE AND YOUNG PINE STEAL A PINTO

Calf Robe and Young Pine were partners. One 721
time they went down to the Crows to steal horses.
They each took a fast horse from in front of its
Crow-owner's lodge, and then headed back home.
After they had gone quite a way, one of the
horses went lame and had to be abandoned. The
remaining horse was a really fine-looking pinto.
They took turns riding him.

Some time went by and a single Crow raider came to the Blood camps to steal horses. He went into the camp on a moonlit night and saw the

excitement and shooting that some of our horses 000
stampeded out of the camp. I became a member 796
of the Crazy Dogs Society at that time. I stayed 177
with my relatives at my uncle's lodge until the 657
Medicine Lodge ceremony, when we had a lot
of trouble with the Mounties. The Mounties [575]●
wanted to arrest Calf Robe again, because he had
threatened them with a gun the first time they
arrested him. Calf Robe decided to make up for
not fighting in the battle with us, so he fought the
Mounties in the Medicine Lodge, and the Mounties got beat up pretty bad. And that is the end of my story.

THE FIGHT IN THE MEDICINE LODGE IN 1889

The incident in which the Mounties tried to arrest Calf Robe inside the Medicine Lodge is talked about by our Old People as "the time we had a war with the Red Coats." Some of our People thought that the Mounties came to stop our men from performing the self-torture ceremony.

Two men underwent that ceremony in 1889, Heavy Head and Tough Bread. However, the Mounties did not arrive until the day after this took place.

Here is how Grandma AnadaAki remembers 796
her stepfather Heavy Head's story of his self- 785
torture and what followed:

My father said that he went through the [292]
torture barefooted and without any clothes except
a breechcloth. They cut him in the tipi where the
holy woman stays. He said that other men were
usually cut in the Medicine Lodge. He said that
somebody told him to ask for deep cuts, so that
they would not cut very deep. They painted him [302]
all over with sacred white clay, and designs were [778]
painted on his face with red paint and black
paint. They tied sage around his wrists and his [824]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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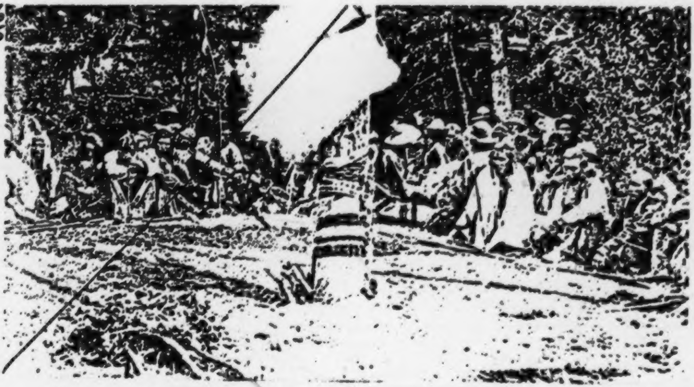
575

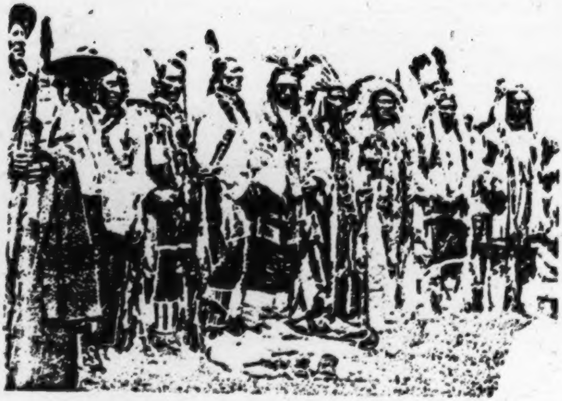


[555]
[535]

Members of a warrior's society inside a Medicine Lodge around 1880. They all have their guns and coup sticks and are ready to reenact their war adventures. At the right is the Weather Dancer's Booth—one of the dancers can be seen looking through an opening. To its left sit the drummers and singers for the ceremony. (Ernest Brown)

[P.309-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



292
575

Visitors at Fort MacLeod in 1907, supposedly members of the Horns Society. From left to right: Heavy Shield; a North Piegan; Eagle Ribs; Goose Chief; Black Horse Rider; two unidentified; Hind Bull; Eagle Child; and Mike Oka.

[p.311-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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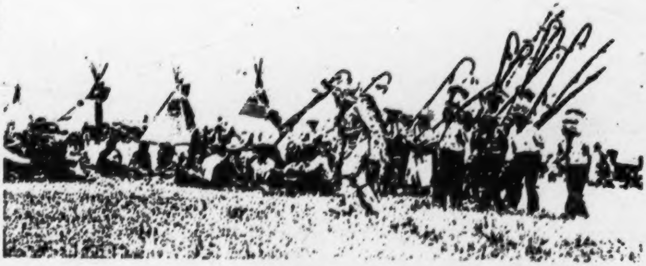
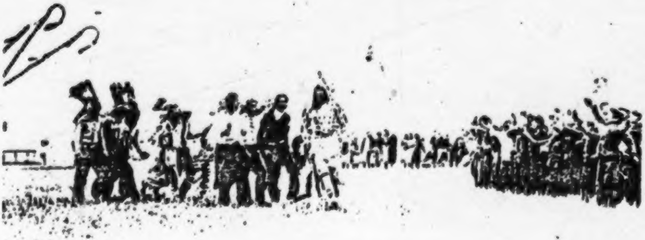


Early part of the public dance by the Horns in the 1940's. Jim White Bull leads the dancing Horns, wearing the Headdress-with-an-Arrow. Former members are seated within the dance circle. These scenes look much the same today.

At the end of the public dance by the Horns. Jim White Bull wears the ancient Headdress-with-an-Arrow-in-Front. The children on the right represent enemies, who are trying to keep back the advancing Horns. On the next round they will scream with excitement as the dance leader charges towards them with a loaded rifle. As the shot is fired and they fall in symbolic defeat, the Sun Dance Encampment comes to an end for another year.



21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

342
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292

● [575]
[593]
[554]
[432]

Dog Child sings an honoring song for his son, George First Rider, while he leads a saddle horse and a team around the camp circle to show what is to be paid for his son's membership in the Horns Society. (Arnold Lupson)

Construction of the sacred sweat lodge for the Medicine Lodge ceremony. One hundred willows are used for its frame. Dog Child is inside the circle, on the right.

346
796

[p. 325]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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575
493

Members of the Horns Society heading out of camp for the Center Pole. Driving the lead wagon is Head Chief Shot-on-Both-Sides. On the back of the wagon sits Tom Morning Owl.

Bringing back the Center Pole with a modern rubber-tired wagon in the late 1940s. Four members of the Horns Society are sitting on the Pole, drumming and singing.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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575
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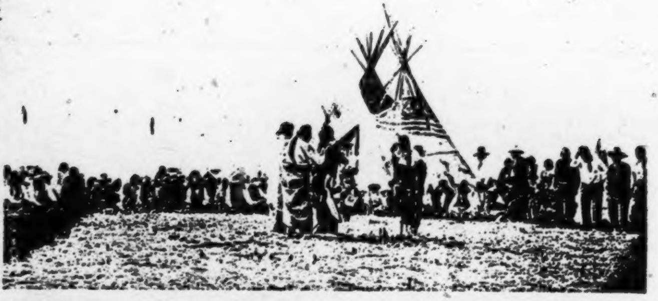
346



A sacred Pipe about to be offered to the members of the Horns Society for smoking. The Pipe is being held by Day Rider. The Owner of the Pipe stands next to him, wearing the sacred headband. Last Gun, a South Piegan, is calling out his war exploits, while Weasel Tail stands nearby.

793 Charlie Reevis, the priest, leading the procession from the holy woman's tipi. The construction in the foreground is an ordinary sweat lodge and not the 100-willow one for the Medicine Lodge people.

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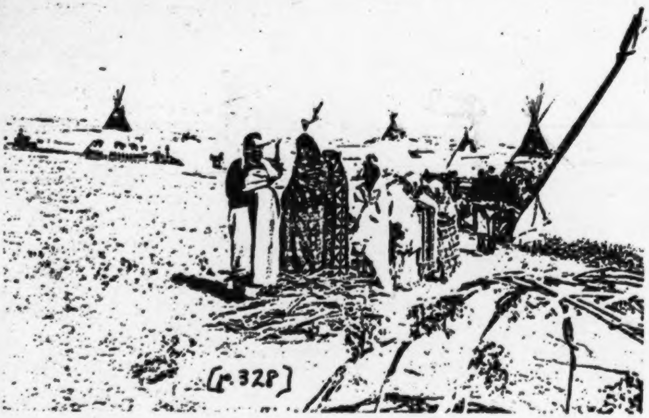

[p.328]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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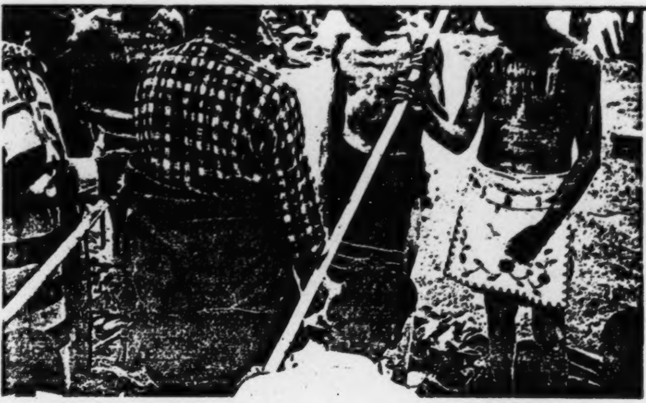

The painted new Horns members listen while old members pray and recite coups in order to paint the staffs and cover them with their sacred wrappings. On the left is Dog Child.

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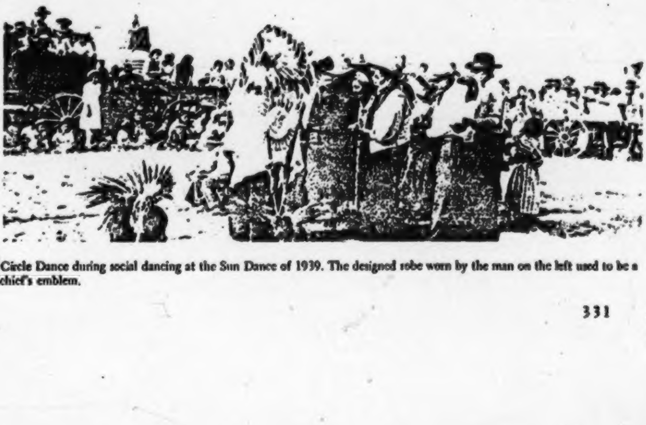

[622] Circle Dance during social dancing at the Sun Dance of 1939. The designed robe worn by the man on the left used to be a chief's emblem.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

The last wife of old Shot-on-Both-Sides, 622
Long-Time-Pipe-Woman, was our chief's stepmother.

My real mother died when I was about ten or eleven. Her name was Drums-in-the-Water, and she belonged to the Knife Owners band. The only member of that band who is still living is that old lady whose father was the Negro interpreter, Dave Mills. My mother's brothers were Willie Wadsworth and old Weasel Moccasin.
Nowadays I've got all kinds of relatives on the [144]
reserve, full bloods, half-breeds, and Negroes.

His father had many sacred Medicines, including 622
the Long-Time Pipe and Backside-to-the- 778
Fire Pipe. He belonged to the Horns nine times. 425
[575]

I was very young when things were first transferred to me, before I went to school. When I [431]
went to school I gave away my weasel-tail buckskin suit. Bob Big Sorrel Horse transferred it to me. I think he transferred a horned Medicine headdress to me also. When I went to school I just gave them away. I was crazy. I should have kept them. I just gave them to my friend, Leo Crazy Bull. I didn't transfer them. He never did go to school. -

The last thing that was transferred to the chief was the rights to the famous One-Horned Headdress. The original, lost in Europe during the First World War, was given to him by Big-Faced Chief, a North Piegan. Bear Shin Bone
painted him for it. He also had the Children's [575]
Medicine Pipe once, and he belonged to the
Pigeons Society twice. He said that he would like [533]
to attend our Nighttime ceremonies if he ever gets [424]
enough sacred songs to do so. At this time he is
only allowed to sing twelve songs.

I think the Old Indian Way is good for 829
young people. That is why I am helping the Horns 771

[p. 333-A]

time." He went on his most notorious raid with 721
the late Henry Standing Alone. They were discovered [784]
trying to steal horses and a gunfight followed,
but no one was seriously hurt.

NinnaOnesta transferred his last Horns 779
Bundle during the Sun Dance last year. He said 575
he had had it for thirty-two years. He has also
been a member of the Horns Society five times.
"Being a Medicine Pipe Owner and belonging to
the Horns both brought me a lot of happiness.
They are both the same to me. You can see how [855]
many children and grandchildren I have around
me. They were all raised safely because we took
good care of our holy things. We raised our kids
by them."

All winter long he looks forward to the return 796
of Thunder. "I really enjoy Medicine Pipe 778
ceremonies. I wait with happiness for Thunder to
come so that I can get ready for the Pipe dances
again. I really feel good going to them." He
owned one Medicine Pipe Bundle for "many
years." He said it was "the one that crazy Black [439]
Plume kid sold to that white man that's trying to
get all our holy things away from us."

NinnaOnesta and his wife would like to see 829
the Old Ways kept up properly by the young.
"These young people that are trying to follow the
Indian Way. It is very good. There is nothing at
all wrong with it. It is very good for them." Asked
if he had any advice to offer to young people, he
replied; "If one of them will come to me for advice,
I will tell them how to live. But no one has
come to me, so far."

BOB BLACK PLUME

Apikayi, or "Skunk," is a short, little man in his 793
mid-seventies who has a smile and handshake for
anyone who passes him. Some of our People refer
to him as "the preacher," because he is involved
in all sorts of religious affairs, from Horns Society
to Full Gospel and the Catholic Church. Perhaps [291]
to suit that title, he is usually well dressed in a

hears my prayers whether I say them at a Night- 793
time ceremony or at the Catholic Church or dur- 558
ing a Full Gospel meeting. I am not shy to pray 156
any place. That is how I live. 829
[782]

MARK OLD SHOES

Mark Old Shoes, or Rusty Boy, is probably the 793
youngest and healthiest of our Old People. He is
learning to lead some of the ceremonies, mainly
our Nighttime ceremonies and Medicine Pipe
Bundle openings. He is also head Weather [535]
Dancer on the Blood Reserve, in case there is ever
another Medicine Lodge ceremony.

Mark's father was the famous warrior Morn- [551]
ing Writing, who was registered on the agency
rolls by his earlier name, Old Shoes. Morning [871]
Writing raised his children in the Old Way and
did not allow them to go to school. When Mark [177]
was twelve years old, his father died and he was
sent off to school, where they forced him to cut [302]
his braids. Since then he has always worn short
hair.

Mark has been a member of the Horns So- 575 ●
ciety three times, once as a bachelor and twice
with his wife. The first time he joined as partner [425]
to the Owner of one of the leaders' staffs. At later
times he owned the Staff-with-a-Rattle and the
Headdress-with-an-Arrow-in-Front. As he looked 829
through the photographs of past scenes he had 178
some comments: "I find it strange how much
everything has changed. For instance, in those
days the Old People all allowed their pictures to
be taken at the Sun Dance. Now, if anyone is [784]
seen with a camera, the Horns will sure get after [575]
him."

Like many of our Old People, Mark has 829
much faith in the new Horns to help keep our
Old Ways alive. He has said, "I think that as long 575
as the new Horns really believe in what they are [182]
doing, our Old Ways will keep going. Young
people didn't care much about the Old Ways, [178]
lately, when it was just us Old People. But now a
lot of young people are thinking about trying to
join us. [P. 335-B)

were gone for three months. It's pretty tough 484
when you are so far away from home and you get 177
homesick. I used to just get into my wagon and drive around and try to pretend that I was back at home, here. But that was kind of hard. We never saw any kangaroos when I went for a ride in my wagon here, but we sure did there. We raced chuckwagons and horses while we were down there; we showed their cowboys how we do it here.

A lot of Old People prayed for me before [782]
I left. They were pretty worried about us going so far and across so much water. We went from Vancouver by boat, it took us twenty-six days.

Joe's wife joined the Horns Society once, 156
with her first husband, and recently she joined [575] ●
again with Joe. He is the oldest member of the
society. His wife said, "Don't ask him if he's ever [787]
had a vision. He was too scared to go out by himself to do that; he just chased the girls, instead."

MRS. ANNIE WADSWORTH

Eighty-two-year-old Annie Wadsworth was a 574
cousin of Charcoal. She can still remember when he came to her mother one night, when he was wanted for murder, and asked for food and sewing materials, which her mother gave him at great risk.

The most outstanding fact of Mrs. Wads- 584
worth's life, however, is that her parents gave her away as a bride in the Old Way when she was only seven years old. Her father was Moon Calf; her mother, Forward Stealing Woman. They gave her to eighteen-year-old Willie Wadsworth, then better known as Wearing-a-Tailfeather-Headpiece. She says that she does not regret being married so early because her husband treated her very well throughout their life together. They had twelve children.

[p. 339-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

His father took the three oldest children back 736
East and put them in school in Winnipeg. Charlie and his older sister were given to relatives on the reserve. His mother's brother, White Buckskin, took him and raised him in the Old Way, although he looked very much like his real father. Charlie's father came after him several times, to take him away to school, but old White Buckskin would always see him in time and sneak out a back window with Charlie to hide him in the brush.

Charlie and Rosie took on the care of the 778
Long-Time Pipe in their old age. They had it "for four or five years," according to Rosie, and she
still regrets giving the Pipe up to John Red Crane, [425]
who sold it to the museum. She said, "I would have never given it to that man, but he said he made a vow, so there was not much that I could do about it."

Charlie Davis never joined the Horns Society
because old White Buckskin told him, "Your 575
wife lives like a white lady, so you had better not 186
join the Horns with her. She might do something wrong."

Rosie Davis wears glasses for reading but she 523
gave up doing beadwork just a couple of years 517
ago. She said she likes to read all kinds of books, but that some writers are "too far-fetched." She just got through reading *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee,* and her conclusion was that she "liked it real well, but it was sad and pathetic."

[p. 343-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

796
778
782
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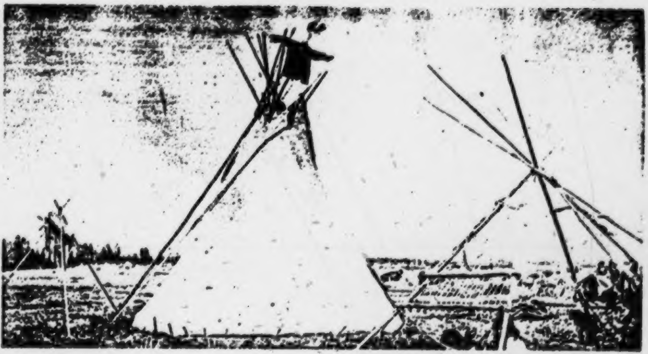

● [575] The offering in place over the tipi while the ceremony is held inside. A Horns Society Bundle hangs from the tripod at the rear. (R.N. Wilson)

[p. 349-A]

was the dance leader for the Horns Society and possessed the society's Headdress with an Arrow in Front. He had also been a minor chief in the tribe. 165

The Horns Society lost an important spokesman with the passing of Ray Many Chiefs. A tragic accident recently claimed the lives of two more important members of the Horns—Charlie Weaselhead, the eldest son of Mokakin and Ponah, and Hugh Calf Robe. Both men were accompanied by their wives, and each of them left behind ten children.

But before all these losses, the Horns were able to recover some of their important sacred Bundles from the Alberta Provincial Museum. The exact settlement has yet to be worked out, but the Bundles are with their real owners on the reserve. Another Alberta museum—the Glenbow—has refused to consider returning the important Horns Bundle which they bought in a 575 ● 425 778

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 363-8]

secret transaction from the widow of John Red 575
Crane, who had sold our Long-Time Medicine 425
Pipe. The Old Man's grandson, Harry Shade, 778
made a vow to become Keeper of that Horns
Bundle. He and his partner, Jim Red Crow, have
recently decided to follow Mokakin's advice and
will ask older Horns members to remake the
Bundle for them.

A most exciting event occurred last year, in 778
time for the Old Man to help celebrate. Our an- 425
cient Long-Time Medicine Pipe came back to
stay with our People. It happened this way:

Several summers ago the Bundle was brought 796
to the Sun Dance Encampment and ceremonially 778
opened. By tradition, the leader of the ceremony 425
should have been a former Owner, who would
have known the special songs for it. But none are
left among the People. Thus, White Horns led
the ceremony in the best way he could. Many
Grey Horses came and brought his drums, which
had originally belonged to the Bundle. He himself
was one of the drummers for the ceremony. At
the end of it he surprised everyone by announcing
that he was taking the Bundle back to his own
home and that he would shortly have it transferred to himself and his wife. The white man

[p. 363-B]

prohibited. Pipes can only be lighted from the fire by this attendant with 796
service berry sticks. A blaze must be avoided as much as possible. The [276]
attendant cuts the tobacco and fills the pipe and when burnt out he must empty the ashes into a small hole in the ground near his seat. Everyone is expected to sit quietly, leaving the moving to him. He remains on duty during the night also.

Formerly, the tipi of the medicine woman was moved three times, four 796
different camps resulting, the last being at its position in the circle for 793
the sun dance. As a considerable journey was often necessary to reach the [484]
sun dance site these camps might be far apart. Theoretically, the camp is pitched late in the afternoon of each day. At the sun dance a special sweathouse ceremony takes place. This will be discussed later. After this the evening and greater part of the night are spent by those in attendance at the medicine woman's tipi in rehearsing the songs and instructing the son and daughter.

Like everything else, moving the camp of the medicine woman is a 796
formal matter. The travois is made, painted red, and reserved for the 793
special use of the medicine woman. When the time for breaking camp in the 484
medicine woman's band arrives, she and her husband are led out and seated [493]
upon a robe at the west or rear of their tipi, facing in the direction to move. The parfleche of tongues and other paraphernalia are brought out by the attending women and put down beside the couple. The mother directs the attending women in taking down the tipi and hitching the horse to the travois. The parfleche of tongues is packed on the travois. When all is ready, the woman and man are led to their horses and assisted to mount, the woman riding the horse to the travois. The father and the son go ahead in single file, next the mother and the daughter, or medicine woman. They pause four times, as songs are sung. After they get some distance out, they stop and wait for the camp, now moving for the first time. This procession of four always leads, the two men side by side and behind them the two women likewise. At noon, when they stop for lunch, the two are again seated on a robe, the travois unhooked and laid down before them. Then follows the camp some distance behind. The old men form a circle and smoke near the pair.

At this time the father orders one of the men's societies to go forward [575]
and mark out a camp site. When this spot is reached, tipis are pitched and when everything is in place the medicine woman and her husband are taken inside.

On the morning of each day a society is given instructions to make the 796
sweathouse at the camping place, a man to get the creeping juniper and 575
another to cut out the smudge place. As the sweathouse procedure is a 343
distinct ceremony, it will be treated under another head.

796
343 The following account of the evening ceremonies in the medicine woman's tipi was given by Red-plume:—

539 In the evening, after sunset, the first sweathouse is made. All those who took
part in the ceremony before and a few other old men are invited. The man who fills
the pipes and tends to the smoking during the ceremony remains on duty during the
whole sun dance ceremony. Four-bears is told to tell the mosquito society to sing
● [575] that night in their own tipi which is inside of the circle. This society is to sing the
[533] sun dance songs, the weather-makers dancing songs, the rest of the people remaining
quiet through the night. In the medicine lodge they sing until a little before daybreak.

The smudge place in the medicine lodge on the first day and for the first sweathouse is a square marked in the soft earth with a crescent in the middle of it. It is not painted. Under the crescent is a dot where the smudge is made.

796 539 533 When all the guests are assembled in the tipi the ceremony for the evening begins. Food is given to all; the medicine woman and her husband have their meat cut up for them. While a song is sung a piece of meat is held over the smudge, four passes made with it, and then fed to the man and woman. The same thing is done with water. After this they may help themselves to the food. After the meal is over the singing begins. The sweetgrass is taken up and a song sung: "Old man, takes spring grass. Old woman comes in with her body." Another man takes the smudge stick and places a live coal on the smudge place. The singer holds the grass over head and then brings it down on the coal. This song is for the morningstar: "Morningstar says let us have a sweathouse." Seven songs are sung for the sun and moon which are spoken of as the old man and old woman. These with the seven sung for the morningstar make fourteen sung thus far.

796 533 539 302 Since the men have been in the sweathouse where the paint has all washed off, five songs are sung to re-paint the man and woman. As the man sings, he takes some red earth paint with a ball of fat which he rolls in the palms of his hands. The song is: "Old man says red face I take." He makes a streak crosswise on the man's forehead, vertically on his cheeks, and across the chin. The entire face is then covered with the same red paint. The robe is then taken from the man's shoulders. He sings another song as he takes up the sagegrass and brushes one side of the man's head, his arm, and then his body. At the same time, the woman is painted on the other side of the tipi. Another song is sung and he takes the paint, rubs it in his hands, and sings: "This man I am making his body holy, powerful." The same words are sung for the woman. The man's body and robe are then painted.

796 533 539 237 When the tongues were first taken in to be sliced, two round buffalo dungs together with a ball of sweetgrass were given to the man and woman. They keep these to wipe the paint from their hands. A song is sung for the dung. The two men and the two women hold their hands over the dung. They make four motions with the closed fists and then touch the ground to the southeast, southwest, northwest, and northeast of the dung. The words in this song are: "This may help me to live long, and help me through life." There is also part of a buffalo dung. The smudge stick is taken up, with the song: "Timber I am looking for? Timber I have found and taken." The two men and the two women all grasp the forked stick. They sing as they take up the dung with it and gradually move it up the stick until it rests on the fork. Then it is held over the fire. Someone knocks the dung into the fire and it is covered with ashes. The song is: "Powerful, I start. Powerful

THE HUNDRED-WILLOW SWEATHOUSE.

796 As stated before, a sweathouse of special form is constructed on the
343 third day. This is said to have originated with Scar-face, it being the house
into which he was taken by the sun. About the middle of the day a society
[575] is sent out for the willows. These were usually those of the younger men;
the pigeons and mosquitoes. There is a belief, however, that in former
times only warriors could be sent upon this errand. These persons are
[823] mounted and return in procession, singing and circling the medicine woman's
[784] tipi in the direction of the sun, and deposit their willows at the west side
of the camp circle. They must not drink water while on this duty.

[575] An older society is called to build the sweathouse. They must not
[784] drink water while engaged in this operation and receive some of the tongues
after the ceremonies of the fourth day. Formerly, these men must have
[555] had a coup to their credit as a qualification and some informants claim that
the sum total for the society should have totalled at least one hundred,
the number of willows. The work begins some time before sunset by which
time the sweathouse should be completed.

[824] The willows are stuck into the ground in an oval and their tops bent
over and interlocked over the top. The ends point toward the east and the
west, an opening or door being provided at each. The willows are then
painted, one side red and the other black. Next, a hole is dug in the center
of the structure for the heated stones. In the meantime, a small heap of
stones mixed with firewood has been placed some distance to the east.
[237] A buffalo skull is painted with red spots on one side and black on the other.
Sagegrass is thrust into the nose and eye-sockets. Robes are then thrown
over the willows and all is ready for the procession from the medicine
woman's tipi.

796 The procession from the medicine woman's tipi consists of the father
343 and another man experienced in ceremonial affairs, the husband, the mother
and the medicine woman. They approach slowly and by stages, passing
793 around the south side of the sweathouse to the north and then to the east or
[823] entrance. All keep their eyes on the ground. The husband walks with a
[778] heavy staff; the medicine woman carries the natoas bundle with a smudge
stick.

The men enter the sweathouse, while the two women go to the west side
and sit down facing the east. The medicine woman is on the north side with
796 the bundle before her. After the men have entered, the fire is lighted and
some of the attendants (builders of the sweathouse) lift the buffalo skull to
343 the top of the sweathouse where it faces the east. Prayers and the usual

material.[1] In the center, is another forked tree trunk much higher than 796
the other (this we shall call the sun pole) connected with each of the stringers 346
by a rafter. Green boughs are placed thickly against the outside of the
lodge. On the inside, at the rear, is a booth screened and roofed with [824]
boughs. The material is cottonwood. That other woods were occasionally
used, is attested by the fact that a locality is known as "the place of
sweet pine dancing lodge."

Some informants claim that in former years each band was required [178]
to furnish two rafters, a post, a rail, and their proportionate amount of
boughs. Two rafters were used instead of one as now, each band furnishing [621]
the section opposite their place in the circle. The contradiction
between the number of bands and the size of the dancing lodge seems not
to have troubled our informants. Now, the young men go out during
the early part of the fourth day to cut the poles and boughs. This is
done without ceremony. A crier usually rides around the camp circle [203]
reminding the various bands of their duty. Formerly, the young women 178
went out on horseback to drag in the poles and brush. On this occasion,
they dressed in the best costumes and used the finest horse trappings 796
obtainable. The men cut the poles and brush, hitching them to the drag 346
ropes with their own hands. As the procession galloped toward the camp
circle, the men rode behind, shooting and yelling. In recent years, the
men bring the material in on wagons without demonstration.

Men of some prominence are selected to dig the holes for the posts. 796
The posts are erected and the stringers put in place, excepting one on the 346
west side nearly opposite the entrance. The rafters are leaned against [554]
the stringers, ready to be pushed in place and the green boughs piled up
at convenient places near by.

The cutting of the sun pole is attended with some ceremony. Some 796
informants claim that formerly this was to be carried out by the medicine 346
woman's band; others that one of the men's societies was called upon for 313
this service. [178]

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[1] Obviously, this would make the dancing lodge very large. In reply to this objection [575]
it was said that they were large; that it was necessary to select as a site places where very
long rafter poles could be cut; that formerly societies and others performed evolutions
within on horseback. The late Little-plume is credited with having introduced the present
custom of reciting deeds, requiring horses, outside the dancing lodge. It may be of interest [171]
to note that the Arapaho also made very large sun dance shelters.

In 1908 Mr. Duvall measured the dancing lodge. The sun pole stood sixteen feet from the ground to the fork. The posts were eight feet and approximately sixteen feet apart. The diameter of the whole was fifty-two feet. The fireplace was east of the sun pole six feet and was four feet by two feet and five inches deep. The booth for medicinemen was five feet eight inches wide by seven feet six inches deep. The two holes were about a foot forward from the sod walls, eight inches across and six inches deep. The man who has been marking out the site for the lodge during the last few years, begins by selecting the place for the sun pole and stepping off seven paces as the radius.

SOCIETY DANCES.

575 554 796 In former times, the succeeding days were apportioned to the men's societies (the ikunukats) in the order of their rank, beginning at the lowest.[1] There seems to have been no fixed allotment of time to each, only the order of succession being adhered to. [555] The ceremonies were determined chiefly by the respective society rituals, though the recounting of deeds in war was given great prominence. [782] As a rule, each society closed its ceremonies by offering parts of its regalia, etc., to the sun, a custom still observed by the Blood (See vol. 11, this series, fig. 19, p. 411). After the highest society had completed its function, the leading men of the tribe held a kind of a war dance in which coups were recounted. In this dance, again, rattles were beaten upon a rawhide. The organizations or persons having charge of the day's ceremonies must furnish the feast and all necessaries. [793] The medicine woman and her husband usually repair to the dancing lodge each day. The man usually takes his pipe and tobacco and furnishes the smoking for the guests who sit around. His wife wears the buckskin dress and elk robe, but not the natoas. They sit on the north or right side of the booth and merely are spectators. This closes the ceremonies and camp is broken.

THE TORTURE CEREMONY.

785 796 304 [171] [648] The torture feature, especially prominent in the ceremonies of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Dakota, was formerly given a place among the dancing lodge ceremonies of the Blackfoot. The information we have seems to indicate that this ceremony had not become thoroughly adjusted to its place in this series at the time of its prohibition by the United States and Canadian governments. [177] The claim is made by some of the Piegan that it was borrowed from the Arapaho and was not looked upon with much favor. As one man expressed it, "None of those taking the cutting lived to reach old age." [177] [424] It was said that a few Blackfoot warriors once visited the Arapaho at the time of their sun dance where they were put through the cutting ceremony. According to the Blackfoot mode of thought, this means that the medicine rites (and rights) were transferred to them. When they returned, they induced others to take the cutting, to whom, of course, the rites were transferred. Whether this historical statement is accurate or mythical, we have no means of knowing, but we are inclined to give

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[1] This series, Vol. 11, 305–474.

23: Wissler E-4,5 (1902-ca.1911) 1918
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

539 773 796 The Sun told Scar Face of the sun dance, the lodge, and the sweathouse, and added, "When you return to your people and wish to make an offering to me, you must first build a sweathouse and there make your offerings. Then I will hear your prayers and accept them. You may also make offerings to me in the sun dance lodge. He covered Scar Face's face with the "seventh" or red paint, drew a black circle around his face and a black dot on the bridge of his nose, and a streak of black around each wrist. He said to Scar Face, "This is the way the people must paint when they make offerings to me in the sun dance lodge. For the victory or scalp dance they must paint their faces black." The Sun also gave him a necklace, in the center of which were strung two small shells and a pendent lock of hair, flanked on either side by four beads. This is the necklace worn by the husband of the woman owning the natoas. The Sun's lodge was made of white buffalo robes and some the color of beaver skins. The door of the Sun's lodge faced the east. For this reason, tipis were always turned so the doors faced east. Now Scar Face decided to return to the place where Spider waited.

The narrative then proceeds in the usual way, except that the hero calls all the men of the camp to take revenge on the young woman after which he by magic turns her into a cripple.

THE BLOOD AND NORTH BLACKFOOT.

796 184 The writer has upon two occasions seen the ground where a Blood sun dance had been held. The dancing lodge, the sweathouse, etc., were still standing and all these were just as noted among the Piegan. The Blood lodge was a little larger, but the Piegan said that it was formerly so with them, they now having very poor timber to work with. We have in addition two brief published accounts of eyewitnesses.[1] The chief difference we could detect was in the secondary dances of the society where the Horns and the Matoki[2] took a very prominent part. As there are now no such organizations among the Piegan, this gives merely an outward appearance of difference. ● [575]

The Northern Piegan, as may be expected, also had the same form. As to the North Blackfoot, we have only the statement of other Indians that the sun dance was the same. The Sarsi[3] also had the very same form and we may suspect the Kutenai as well. At least, my Piegan informants asserted that the Kutenai had the sun dance from them. The problem here, however, must rest until we have more data, though Hale is of the opinion that the Blackfoot gradually displaced the Kutenai and took over many Plains traits from them.[4] 796 171

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[113]

[1] McLean, *ibid.*, 231–237; McQuesten, *ibid.*, 1160–1177.

[2] This series, volume 11, 410–418, 430–435.

[3] Goddard, Pliny Earle, "Sarsi Texts" (*University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 11, no. 3, Berkeley, 1915), 192–195.

[4] Hale, H., "On the North-Western Tribes of Canada" (*Report, Fifty-seventh Meeting, British Association for the Advancement of Sciences*, 173–200, London, 1888), 198.

We all moved down to the edge of the pines to sit until it would 825
be dark enough for us to resume our way. As the sun was setting, 721
suddenly a raven, hoarsely croaking, came flying toward us from the east, circled over us several times, and still croaking, flew back eastward. Then came back, again circled over us, and flew eastward and disappeared. Silently, breathlessly, we watched it and now we knew that it, wisest of birds, true friend of the warriors, had come to urge
us to keep on. Many-Tail-Feathers was the leader of the Raven Car- [575]●
rier band of the All Friends Society, the warrior's society of the Blackfoot tribes, so we knew the raven had come especially to give him its message.

Said he: "Now I know that we are to kill that worst of all Cut- 721
throats, White Dog."

"But how are you going to find White Dog in the big camp of his people," I asked. "How know him?"

"Know him," almost shouted Many-Tail-Feathers. "Three of us here, Little Otter, White Antelope, and I, have twice fought the man and his companions, and twice he got away from us. So, well we know him, his appearance, his shouting to us in our own language, 'Me, I am White Dog.' So, when we find the Cutthroats' camp, we will, in the early night, while the fires are burning, look into lodge after lodge until we find him, kill him, and run for the horses that we have already taken."

"And what will we others be doing while you three seek him?"

"That you should ask a so nothing question. Of course we first go into the camp and take some of the fast buffalo horses there tied before the lodges of their owners every night. Then you others will hold them in readiness for our getaway while we seek out and kill our enemy."

So there we had it, our leader's plan for the raid. It didn't look good to us. To prowl about in the camp and lead out the horses that we needed would be dangerous enough. But for our leader, Little Otter, and White Antelope to go from lodge to lodge drawing aside, however slightly, the door curtains and peeking in looking for White Dog, well, that, we thought, was craziness. They would surely be

Buffalo Robes

In the daytime, save for the shouting of children at play, the great 574
camp was quiet; but with the setting of the sun it livened up. Men 517
began shouting invitations to their friends to come and feast and
smoke with them. Members of the various branches of the *Ikuni* [575]
Kahtsi (All Friends warriors society) got together to sing and dance. [533]
At once in a hundred lodges there were various social gatherings— [535]
gatherings of old men, young men, old women, young women, chiefs
and leading warriors, Sun priests. Evening always found me joining
one or another of the lodge-fire circles to listen to the talk, and so
I heard great tales of war, of hunting, and of the wondrous doings
of the gods. In greatest demand were the tellers of humorous stories; [522]
they had so many invitations to social gatherings that they were
rarely found at home. And theirs was clean humor; one never heard [831]
any obscenity in the lodges of the Blackfoot tribes.

What George Catlin had to say of the Mandans he visited in 1832 574
—that they were kindly, courteous hosts—was equally true of the
old-time Blackfeet. A man giving a feast-and-smoke stepped outside [203]
his lodge and shouted his invitations. One by one the guests came
and were seated according to their standing in the tribe. The more 554
prominent a man was—such as chief, Sun priest, warrior—the nearer
he would be placed to the host. When all were seated, the women of [262]
the lodge placed dishes of food, the choicest that they had—boiled [276]
or broiled buffalo tongues, buffalo dorsal ribs, berry pemmican,
stewed berries—before them, and the host, not eating, began cutting
finely a mixture of tobacco for the smokes. At the same time he 521
started the talk about something of general interest, or, perhaps, 574
called on a certain one to tell of some thrilling experience he had
had in hunting or at war; or, as often happened, a Sun priest would
talk about the gods or relate a powerful vision that the gods had
given him in the night. As the talk went on, all ate slowly, moder-
ately, and in most pleasant manner, of their portions. Contrary to [261]
the general opinion of them, the Indians, anyhow the Blackfeet, were
not gorgers of great quantities of food.

When all had finished eating, the host passed the filled big-stone 276
bowl with its long stem to someone of the circle to light from the 793
fire—always a Sun priest if one were present—and he, touching a coal 574

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

woman. Ever since has been trailing around with the Blackfeet. Tried 797
to convince them that there are three gods only: Father, Son, and 177
Holy Ghost. So deridingly they named him Three Persons."

Swimming their horses, rafting their belongings, the tribe crossed 177
the river that afternoon and camped close back of our post. Before [484]
they moved out on the Musselshell, Kipp and Crow Big Feet had
some serious talks. Kipp convinced him that the buffalo were going
fast—a year or two more of them, and then no more.

"And when they, our real food, are gone, what then for us?" he [262]
asked one day.

"You will have to take to the white man's ways. Raise grains and white horns for food," Kipp answered.

"*Haiya, haiya!*" the chief exclaimed. "What a nothing existence that will be. Better that, when our buffalo pass, we pass too."

Next to arrive were the Kainahs (Bloods), about a thousand of them under chiefs Running Rabbit and Far-Off-in-Sight. After camping a few days close above our post, they moved out on Big Crooked Creek to hunt.

We did a thriving trade with these two tribes for elk, deer-, ante- 439
lope, wolf-, and beaver skins until late fall, when they began bringing
plenty of new, tanned, prime-furred buffalo robes. They were soon 648
joined, to our great surprise, by Louis Riel and about one hundred
families of his Red River, French-Cree mixed bloods, and a thousand
or so Crees, led by their chief, Big Bear.

These Red Rivers and Crees arrived when both the Blackfeet and
the Bloods had moved in to camp at our post for a few days to trade
with us. Both of these tribes were enemies of the Crees. At once the [575] ●
different bands of the *Ikuni Kahtsi* (All Friends warriors society) [721]
of each tribe began painting and arming themselves, shouting that
they would now completely exterminate the dog-face Crees. Well
we knew that, if they did fight, our trade, so prosperously begun,
would be ruined. Our hearts were low as Kipp sent word to the
Blackfoot, Blood, and Cree chiefs to come and counsel with him.
They soon arrived, and so for the first time I saw Big Bear: heavily,
dumpily built, face coarse and unintelligent, poorly clothed. So dif-
ferent from the tall, fine-featured, alert, well-dressed chiefs of the

off with two of Fox Eyes' catch. But Badger Woman caught him 525
in the act, snatched the hides from him, and scolded: "You nothing 593
one! You always-losing gambler! Taking of our son's beaver trappings that I am saving until there will be enough of them to buy him a many-shots gun like the one *Apikuni*, here, has. You know how hard it is for him, with his old powder-and-ball gun to provide us with the meat and hides that we need. But still you would steal of his catches to gamble them off! Oh, you shameless, you hard-minded one!" And at that, without a word of reply, Crazy Dog returned to his cronies, lost all of the tobacco that he had, and then came to me begging for more.

"You know how it is," he whispered. "I am so crippled that I cannot hunt. So I gamble. My woman, of course, she scolds me, but I don't mind it. Her heart is good. Well, *Apikuni*, sneak to me some of your tobacco and I will again try to win—plenty win."

Said Fox Eyes to me on the following morning: "*Apikuni*, you 785
know that I have never endured the sacred fast. I have never had 787
time for it; my father crippled, unable to hunt, I have, ever since I
grew up, been the sole provider for our lodge. But now the time has
come when I must have my fast. So this I ask of you: be you our [123]
hunter, provider of meat, while I endure it."

"Yes, I will be your family's hunter; but why are you now so minded to fast sacredly?" I said.

"Because I want to be a real man, a warrior, a member of the [183]
Doves, or the Raven Carriers, or some other band of the All Friends [575]
warriors society. I have already decided upon my fasting place: a
cliff facing Big River and close above the mouth of this South Bear
River."

Badger Woman and Little Bird Woman, listening to our talk, be- 785
came excited and pleased. Said the mother: "Oh, Fox Eyes! Oh, my 787
son! I am so glad that, at last, you are to do this. Too long have you 156
been a lonely, friendless one, unable to join a war party, unable to [575]
take part in the dances and the happy feast gatherings of any of the
All Friends bands. But now all that is to end. Oh, how proud I shall
be of you, someday seeing you returning with a war party, waving
enemy scalps, singing the victory song, riding and driving before
you enemy horses."

787 And said Little Bird Woman: "Oh, brother, after your fast, join
785 Seizers; they are the best clothed, best singers and dancers of all of
•575 the warrior bands."

"No, you will join the Raven Carriers, they such always-successful warriors. My father, my brother were members of it," the mother said.

785 There followed some argument between mother and son over
787 which of the medicine men (Sun priests) should be asked to pray
[778] for his safety and success in his lone and strenuous fast. The result was that Fox Eyes brought in his horses, roped and led one of them before the lodge of Black Otter, owner of the sacred Thunder Pipe bundle, gave him the horse and said: "*Haiyu!* Oh, powerful, Sun-favored Thunder Pipe man. I am to undergo my lone fast. Help me. Pray for me!"

346 "Yes. Build a sweat lodge at once and I will join you in it," the old man answered.

Badger Woman, her daughter, and some of their women friends were already building the sweat lodge. In shape it was a semisphere, about ten feet in diameter; its frame, of willows; its covering, an old lodge-skin. In its center a small pit was dug; and lastly, in the near-by fire, some stones were set to heat.

783 Came presently Black Otter with his sacred pipe, a wooden bowl,
793 and a buffalo tail; and he and Fox Eyes went into the little lodge,
[778] undressed, thrust out their clothing, and naked sat. The women
passed in the red-hot rocks, and with a stick Fox Eyes rolled them
into the pit; lastly, the old man's bowl, filled with water, was passed
533 to him. He dipped the buffalo tail in it, sprinkled the rocks, and, as
782 dense steam began to fill the lodge, he sang the first one of his Thunder Pipe songs and then fervently prayed Sun to protect Fox Eyes,
to give him success in the lone fast which he was about to endure.
[821] Followed more sprinklings of rocks; more songs; more prayers to
Sun, Night Light (the moon), the Seven Persons (constellation of
778 Ursa Major), and Thunderbird. Lastly, with the sacred pipe in hand,
776 Fox Eyes prayed the Above Ones for success in his undertaking, for
782 long life and happiness for his family, and for all of the people of his tribe.

CHAPTER NINE

He Sang the Victory Song[1]

In August, 1881, slow, idle days dragged on for us at Kipp's trad- 222
ing post. The Indians were still out on the plains, gathering great 224
stores of chokecherries for winter use, hunting only for their daily 439
meat, trading with us not at all.

"I would like to have a few days off to go and camp again with the Blackfeet," I said to Kipp one evening.

"Well, go," he answered shortly.

Early the next morning I saddled my buffalo horse, tied on a 000
slender roll of blankets, and was on my way. In good time I arrived
in the Blackfoot camp on Musselshell River, at the mouth of Crooked
Creek, where I was welcomed in the lodge of Three Bears, father of
my close friend Eagle Head. Like myself, Eagle Head was twenty- 262
two years of age. Presently I was seated on the couch which I was to 123
share with him, while his mother, Spear Woman, and his pretty sis-
ter, *Paiót Ahki*, "Flying Woman," were setting food before me: a
bowl of soup, a plate of rich, berry pemmican. I ate heartily, cleaned
the plate, and drank a second bowl of soup. Then Three Bears lit [276]
and passed his huge, black, stone pipe, and we smoked. Later Eagle
Head and I went visiting here and there and in the evening looked 123
on at a dance of the Raven Carriers band of the All Friends warriors 575●
society. Mature, experienced warriors were the Raven Carriers, and 535
soon to go to war against the Cutthroats.

Spear Woman had decided that her daughter should have a new 000

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[1] Published in *The Open Road for Boys* (September, 1937).

721 "Oh, no," the other answered shivering. "I can't touch it." Then to me and pointing: "It is there under that calf robe. You, yourself, look at it."

I moved to the place between two couches, knelt, thrust my hand under the robe and touched something cold and sticky. It was the half-dried scalp part of the braid. I drew it out, stood up, held it before me, shoulder high. The long, gray, shell-tied-to-it braid, its end wrapped in otter fur, touched the ground. The shell was pierced with seven holes. Without doubt it was the right-side-of-the-head braid of Big Snake. I put it back under the robe and turned to go, but Spear Woman stopped me.

"Boy, go tell our man to come to us, with his gun remain with us, protect us as best he can," she pleaded.

[082] And then Badger Woman: "And on your way, turn into the lodge of Sun Weasel and ask him powerfully to pray the Above Ones to save us from the Crows."

782 I stepped into Sun Weasel's lodge, owner of the elk-tongue sacred
[778] pipe. He was not there. His sits-beside-him-wife, Antelope Woman,
[276] was the leader of the powerful Gathered Women *(Mahtokiks)* secret
[292] society. She had on her sacred headdress of owl feathers and was
● [575] praying Sun to save us. The two other wives were joining in her prayers, their cheeks wet with tears. Their children were silent, sitting big eyed, frightened. I gave Badger Woman's message and Antelope Woman said to me: "I am praying. You are from Calf Looking's lodge. Quickly return there and tell our man that we want him to come to us, to stay here with us."

721 My father and I had hobbled our horses. As I neared Calf Looking's lodge, I came to them, standing, head down, hungry, unable to paw the snow to get at the grass with their fettered feet. I removed their hobbles and said to them: "Go free; eat; it is not likely that we will ever ride you again."

When I entered the lodge the Crows sharply eyed me, several of them muttering something. I gave Little Otter and Sun Weasel their
[201] women's messages, but they did not move. It was hard for my father and Calf Looking and the others to keep up pleasant, interesting sign-talk with the Crows. My father told of his war trails, of strange ad-

fear was the shouting and waving of us frighteners, continually rising 224
upon their either side and running after them. So on they ran, straight ahead, down into the little coulee and jumped off the cutbank into the *piskan*, we frighteners singing and yelling, hurrying thither. Oh, what a satisfying sight it was, that great *piskan* filled with buffalo, as later counted, 181 of them; our hunters on top of the *piskan*, with guns and with bows and arrows shooting them. I climbed up onto the *piskan* beside my father, reloading his flintlock gun. "Give it to me. Let me kill one!" I yelled.

"No! You are too young for that," he said. But I grasped his arm, hung onto it, pleaded hard, and at last he handed me the gun. I aimed it at a yearling close by; aimed for the ball to pierce the lungs. I pulled the trigger, and down off the *piskan* that gun kicked me flat upon my back. My father and the others near by laughed at me. I climbed back upon the *piskan* and looked down: my yearling was dead.

"Laugh, you crazy ones; I don't care. I have killed a buffalo," I yelled.

Said my father as he recovered his gun: "So you have, my son. Next time hold the gun tight against your shoulder and it will not kick you."

Men and women, boys and girls, we all worked hard the rest of [462]
that day in butchering the many buffalo, and with pack horses and [482]
travois horses getting the meat and hides across the river to camp.
And then what a happy evening for us all! My father's friends were [574]
constantly coming to our lodge to smoke with him and praise him [261]
for his decoying of the herd. There was feasting and smoking and [276]
singing in nearly every lodge. Some of the warrior societies, the [575] ●
Crazy Dogs, Raven Carriers, Kit Foxes, and others, sang and danced. [533]
I sneaked into the lodge of the Raven Carriers society to see them [535]
dance, hear their powerful heart-stirring songs. Their leader, Eagle [727]
Head, had recently led a war party on a raid against the Crows, and
they had returned with many horses and scalps. He, himself, had
killed three of the Crows. He noticed me sneaking into the lodge 575
and I thought that he would tell me to leave. But, no. He signed to 224
me to come and sit upon his couch. I did so and he patted my shoul- [535]

575 der. Said to me: "Your father, what a Sun-favored man he is. What
[224] a powerful decoyer. It is because of him, his success, that we dance
[535] tonight."

He was so friendly that I said to him: "Killer of Crows, I want to be a member of you Raven Carriers."

"So you shall be when you grow up," he answered. And then as the drummers and singers began again the society's dance song, he sprang up, raised me up, and said: "Come, you shall dance with us." I did so. I danced out from the circle of them, danced close around the fire; and, clapping their hands, they said that I was a perfect dancer. I went home very proud of myself: I was to be a Raven Carrier. In our lodge all were asleep when I entered it. I noiselessly got upon my couch and slept, too.

787 Daybreak was near when loud shouting awakened us. A man was
224 shouting: "Get up! Get up, you people! Our *piskan* is burning! Hurry! Hurry! We must put out the fire."

Cried my mother: "Our man. He is out there. Where can he be?" We all rushed out. The *piskan* was a very large fire.

"Enemies are burning it," our head chief, Lone Walker, shouted. "You warriors, all of you get your weapons, get upon your horses and we will make those enemies to cry."

Again my mother cried: "Our man, oh where can he be? I know not when he got up, went out."

As our many warriors were hurrying to obey Lone Walker's order, lo! my father appeared. He was coming from the river, carrying his leggings and moccasins; and when he had come close he signed to the crowd of us: "Be quiet. Be quiet." And then said loudly: "Retie your horses, put away your weapons. I set fire to the *piskan*. You cannot save it."

"*Ha*, you set it afire. Why did you do it? Are you crazy?"

"No, not crazy. I did it because of my vision, my powerful vision," he answered.

"That vision—what was it?"

"I cannot tell you about it now. I am very tired. I must rest," he said, and turned, walked slowly to our lodge and into it, my mother, almost-mothers, and I following, hearing the people all about us

539 "That, *Apikuni,* is what I told to Noon Eater, the Black Robe.[A]
177 And then I said to him: 'Noon Eater, you whites are very wise, but
[797] of course you don't know everything. You said that no white, no
Indian, ever went to Sun. Well, I have now proven to you that one of our ancestors actually did visit him and his family in their island home. So now you can tell your Black Robe and other white friends about it. People are always glad to learn the truth about the various matters that interest them.'

"*Ha!* That Noon Eater! He realized that I had bested him. He looked at me, and strangely, then arose and silently went upon his way. I really felt sorry for him."

782 Again I filled the big pipe with the fragrant mixture, passed it to
[276] my friend to light. A match would not do: it was not sacred fire. He
[372] knelt before the fireplace, with a pair of willow tongs plucked out
a coal, placed it upon the pipe, drew in smoke, wafted it skyward,
and solemnly chanted: "Oh, Sun! Oh, you Above People! Have
[778] pity on us. Give to my friend *Apikuni* here long and full life. Help
me to go to my Blackfoot friends when summer comes; be with them when they plant their sacred gardens, for they will then powerfully pray for me."

"So you intend to go up there," I said.

● [575] "If I possibly can go. My friend Running Rabbit, a member of
the Planters' Society, has invited me. As you know, I suffer from pains in my breast. Daily I pray Sun to give me strength to make the journey."

249 My friend's prayer requires explanation. It is that, from remote
time, the Blackfoot Indians have annually planted and harvested,
with most impressive ceremonies, a variety of tobacco that they call
[171] "*meahwakosis*" (*nicotiana attenuata*). The Blackfoot historians re-
late that the Mandan Indians, living on the Missouri at the mouth of Knife River, were the original planters and users of it, that the Crow

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000 libretto by Randolph Hartley, was played first in concert form on January 16, 1907, in Pittsburgh, and produced in Berlin by the Royal Opera House. The premier performance there was on April 23, 1910, while the second was attended by the Crown Prince and Crown Princess. The opera had an Indian setting, used Indian musical themes, and was "superbly staged, both as to scenery and costumes."

A, [i.e., a Catholic priest--Analyst]

Indians obtained its seeds from them and began planting them, and 171
that finally the Blackfeet got seeds of the sacred plant from the latter 249
tribe.

The Blackfoot Tobacco Planters are a society of Sun priests—so- 575
called medicine men—and the leader of them is the owner of the 778
Water, or Beaver, bundle, consisting of the prime-furred hides of 237
beaver, otter, mink, and other water animals. The ceremonies pre- 249
paratory for planting the seeds are held in his lodge—four days and 776
four nights of prayers and songs to Sun and all of the Above People. 782
Prayers more fervent, inspiring than any offered by the most zealous 533
of Methodist preachers. Songs deeply solemn, soul lifting; truly as 755
classic as the music of Mendelssohn and Beethoven. During this time 822
the sick are welcomed in the lodge, and, after painting their faces
and hands with Sun's sacred color, red ocher, the Planters pray for 302
their recovery and prosperous long life—prayers believed to be ever
efficacious except through some fault of the sick one.

Each member of the Planters society having selected the place 575
for his garden, his women and children burn the brush and weeds 249
upon it, make it ready for planting. On the fourth and last day of the 237
ceremonies a large, buffalo rawhide vessel shaped like a dishpan is 415
brought into the lodge and filled with a mixture of manure and
serviceberry soup, and then the tobacco seeds are stirred into it. The
vessel is then taken to the gardens—in a large cottonwood grove
bordering Bow River—and each Planter drops pinches of its con-
tents into holes in his plot that he has made with a sharp-pointed
stick, then fills the holes with loose earth.

During the four days' ceremonies, the sits-beside-him-wife of 575
each Planter has made two images—one of a man, the other of a 778
woman. Each of them has an extra pair of moccasins and a little 782
pouch of pemmican. For the closing rite of the ceremonies, the 249
Planters pray to their images, entreat them to guard carefully their
plantings from all depredations, and then place them at the heads of
their gardens. And finally the people are warned not to go to or 575
even near the gardens, lest the images do them grievous harm. Long 778
ago, a crazy young man of the tribe, singing a song of defiance, went 784
to the gardens and stole some of the sacred tobacco leaves, with the 249
[533]

575 result that he soon choked to death. Also, three summers back, a
778 white rancher living near the reservation, disregarding the warnings
784 of the Planters, sneaked into the gardens, had a good look at them,
249 took one of the tobacco plants, and then at the agency bragged of
[533] what he had done. With the result that, upon his homeward way,
his horse threw him and he died of a broken neck.

123 Incidentally, because I have been a member of the Pikuni tribe
575 of the Blackfoot Indian Confederacy for more than fifty years, and
249 because my wife is an active member of the *Mahtokiks*, the womens'
778 secret society of its Blood tribe, we were two summers ago invited
to take part in the ceremonial rites of the Tobacco Planters and visit
their sacred gardens. We were the only white persons ever given that
privilege. It was a vastly interesting experience.

782 But to return to the visit of my friend, *Ahko Pitsu:* We smoked a
123 fourth pipe—four, the sacred number—and then he said to me:
[801] "*Apikuni*, friend, write a letter for me, a letter to my Tobacco Planters friend.'

"Yes. Wait until I put a thin leaf in my writing machine. There. Begin."

> *Running Rabbit, my very close friend.*
>
> I have not forgotten your invitation. I am not well. I have pains in my breast. But daily, nightly I pray Sun to keep me alive, at least to enable me to be with you sacred ones when you have your tobacco-planting ceremonies; for I know that your prayers for me will be favored by the Above Ones, so that I will become well and strong again. Yesterday my son drove me over to a grove on Two Medicine Lodges River. There I sacrificed my otter-fur cap to Sun. I tied it to a tree limb and prayed the powerful one to give me strength to go to you when comes next New-Grass Moon (April).
>
> My wife, my children, my grandchildren are well. We hope that you and your loved ones are also well.
>
> Your friend,
> AHKO PITSU

177 Such is the faith of my friend *Ahko Pitsu* and all the other full-
797 blood members of the three Blackfoot tribes. The missionaries of the
various white religious sects have made no least dent in it.

276 127 778 Until the summer of 1951 I had not seen a Blackfoot straight pipe. Then, while examining the series of Blackfoot medicine bundles in the Madge Harden Walters collection at the Denver Art Museum, at the invitation of the late Frederic H. Douglas, I found the pipe bowl shown in plate 20, *a*, in one of the beaver bundles.[A] This straight pipe is of gray stone 3 inches long, with a rectangular collar half an inch in width at the stem end. The bowl opening is three-fourths of an inch in diameter and the stem opening is seven-eighths of an inch in diameter. This specimen bears no evidence of file or of other tool marks.[2]

[575] ● [726] Since that date I have seen one other Blackfoot straight pipe. It is in a Catcher's Society pipe bundle, used as a war medicine, in the collections of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City. This bowl, depicted in plate 20, *b*, is of grainy red stone (not catlinite), of a more bulbous shape than is the Denver Art Museum specimen.[B] It also has a long constricted neck at the stem end. This bowl measures 3½ inches in length, and has a diameter of 1$\frac{1}{16}$ inches at the bowl end, and of three-fourths of an inch at the stem end.[3]

COMPARATIVE DATA ON STRAIGHT PIPES

276 172 Although few tubular pipes have been found archeologically on the Northwestern Plains, William Mulloy, in a recent survey of the archeology of this region, has assigned the tubular pipe to the Late Prehistoric and Historic Periods (Mulloy, 1958, p. 152). A tubular pipe of "fine sedimentary material like pipestone, except for its grey color" was found at the Meriwether Canyon site on the Missouri about 4½ miles below the upper end of the Gates of the Mountains. It resembles the straight pipe in the Blood Indian beaver bundle in the Denver Art Museum (pl. 20, *a*), except that the collar at the stem end is circular rather than four-sided (Forbis, 1950, p. 3, and fig. 123). Possibly this pipe was of Blackfoot origin, for Blackfoot war and hunting parties frequented the Gates of the Mountains region in the early 19th century.

276 171 175 Contemporary references testify to the survival of the tubular pipe among some of the neighboring tribes of the Blackfoot in the early part of the 19th century. Capt. Meriwether Lewis described the pipe smoked by the Shoshoni chief Ca-me-ah-wait in August, 1805:

> . . . this pipe was made of a dense semitransparent green stone very highly polished about 2¼ inches long and of an oval figure, the bowl being in the same

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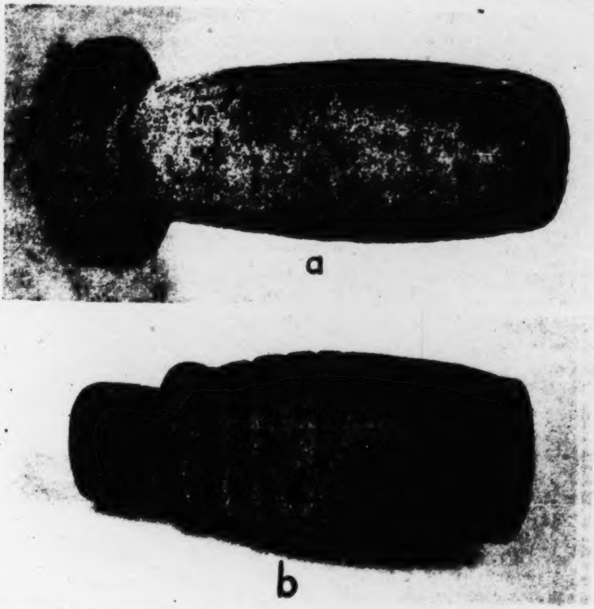
[2] This is cat. No. Pl-B1-10-PD, Denver Art Museum.

[3] This is cat. No. 12/512, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. The bundle in which it appears was collected by William Wildschut on the Blackfeet Reservation, Montana, in 1928.

A,B,/For plate 20, a and b, see Category 276, p.60-A--Analyst/

276
184
127
778
575 ●



a, Straight pipe from a Blood Indian bundle. (Courtesy Denver Art Museum.) *b*, Straight pipe from a Piegan Indian Catchers' Society bundle. (Courtesy Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.)

[p.60-A]

alienation felt by many of his generation who had 159
neither a commitment to the old ways nor a firm perception of the future. Neither full blood by birth nor mixed blood by temperament, he strove to be both (Anonymous, 1902:1570; Stout, 1921: 1206; NA, 1915c).

Raised in the household of a White Indian-trader and educated at Carlisle Indian School where he graduated in 1896, Hamilton doubtless was confused about his own ethnic heritage. Consequently, in finding his place on the Blackfoot Reservation at the turn of the century he appealed to emotion rather than biology. The conflict in his own background propelled him to seek identification in the political arena rather than in a society still clinging to a way of life that could not survive.

Returning to the reservation after his graduation, Hamilton began a conventional career for a young man with a prominent local sponsor. He married a full blood Blackfoot girl in 1898 and took a job as a clerk in the store of another trader, E.T. Broadwater. While working in the Broadwater store he also acted as an interpreter for the reservation agent. That experience may have first turned him to political activism. Certainly for the first time it brought him into close contact with his people and gave him a unique vantage point from which to observe the nearly complete control that reservation agents then exercised. Hamilton also discovered that he enjoyed being at the center of power.

Hamilton's tenure as tribal interpreter was
short-lived. He used his position to convince the 159
agent of the need for a building to house a 575
Blackfoot literary society where young men of his
age could learn English and read American lit- 538
erature. Agent Thomas Fuller applauded the idea 191
and soon gave his permission, only to learn that
the building was a gathering place for training 159
young men in the Sun Dance and for older men 575
to pass down oral traditions. Hamilton had not
been entirely deceitful. He intended to combine 668
instruction in English with the preservation of
Blackfoot traditions, which he wished to learn
himself. He also used the occasion to rally support
against an appointed tribal council. In any event, 159

B event forms to accomodate the many participants who work under
C Euro-American patterns, but the content of powwows remains
796 strongly Native American (cf. Braroe 1975: 64-65, Corrigan 1970,
178 Dusenberry 1962: 128-135, Schneider 1979, Weist 1973). The
177 principal immediate forerunner of the powwow was the late nine-
431 teenth-century Grass Dance (Wissler 1913:451-456 for Blackfoot,
Mandelbaum 1940:280-282 for Plains Cree). Among the Blackfoot,
[575] "the first grass dance society [about 1880] used to throw away
women, horses, blankets, and other property. A stick is thrown
away and whoever gets it receives the property for which it
was thrown" (Wissler 1913:452). Today the giveaway is the insertion of honoring ritual into that segment of the powwow originally filled by the Grass Dance Society "throwing away," property" because today among the Blackfoot and Plains Cree each item given is directed to a single-out recipient.

B How can we best understand the modern giveaway? It is
C begging the question to assume it is Indian and therefore per-
121 sists among Indians. If we focus on the gifts themselves as
431 economic exchange, we are puzzled by the preponderance of blan-
kets when, as the tribal chairman implied, blankets are no longer a very special or seldom obtained possession. Giveaways siphon off thousands of dollars that might have been spent on family consumer goods, in place of which a surplus of blankets circulates on the reservations, some used by recipients as the manufacturers intended, but many kept in their plastic store protective wrappings to be redistributed at another giveaway. Neither can we focus on the spirit of exchange itself, as Mauss (1925) did, for the Northern Plains giveaway is not a mechanism of alliance between formally organized classes, clans, or similar categories. The giveaway seems most cogently explained as a communication channel in which a restricted code conveys information.

I believe the theoretical underpinnings of an analysis of the modern Blackfoot and Plains Cree giveaways can be found in semiotics. In this branch of cultural analysis, a code correlates elements of content with elements of an expression system by means

32: Wildschut E-5 (1923) 1928
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

BLACKFOOT PIPE BUNDLES

WILLIAM WILDSCHUT

An interesting account of the Blackfoot Pipe 778
bundles has been written by Dr. Clark Wissler.[1] [114]
Several specimens were procured and some addi-
tional information recorded by the present writer [126]
during a visit to the Blackfoot reservation in [101]
Montana, in the interest of the Museum of the [122]
American Indian, Heye Foundation, in the summer of 1923.

Next of importance to the Blackfoot Medicine [575] Pipe bundles, several of which are still in existence, is that known as the Catchers Society pipe. This bundle is essentially a war "medicine." Included among its contents is a hair-lock attachment representative of the potency of the bundle: this was the only part worn by the warrior when on the warpath.

The Catchers Society pipe is not to be confused with the Black Wrapped pipe, which is an entirely different "medicine," although in each case only two are said to have been made.

The originator of the Black Wrapped Pipe bundle was Northern Chief. At the present time

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[1] *Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, vol. VII, pt. 2, pp. 136–168, New York, 1912.

32: Wildschut E-5 (1923) 1928
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

out of it, this was regarded as an omen of success. If, on the warpath, anyone requested the 778 726

[825]
[787]
778
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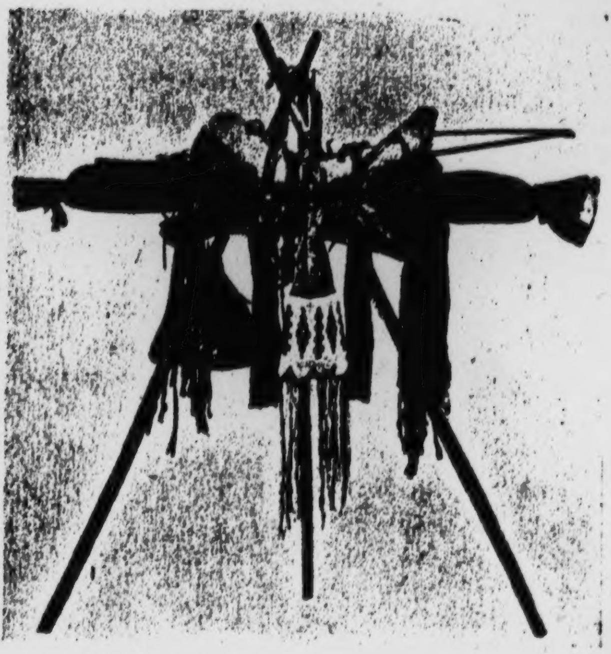

FIG. 103.—Catchers Society pipe bundle of the Blackfeet on its tripod. Length of bundle, 50 in.; of the tripod, 82 in. (12/512)

loan of the bundle, the owner painted the borrower and gave him some feathers belonging to the pipe. 778 726

same dream spirit that appeared to Northern 787
Chief appeared also to him. This spirit told 778
Little Dog that he would capture seven guns, and
at some time would become head chief of his
tribe. This actually occurred, Little Dog being [648]
one of the signers, in behalf of the Piegan, of [775]
the treaty between the Blackfeet and the United
States on the upper Missouri, near the mouth of
Judith river, in 1855.

The first owner was authorized to make two
pipes, but no more ever existed among the Blackfeet.
The only remaining one, above referred to, [562]
is now owned by a daughter of Mountain Chief;
but as no woman is allowed to handle the bundle,
her father is the actual custodian.

As stated, the Catchers Society pipe bundle is
an entirely different palladium and is much more
elaborate than the Black Wrapped pipe. As [126]
only two specimens of this bundle ever existed
among the Blackfeet, the writer was fortunate in
obtaining one. The following information regarding [115]
this bundle was given by Split Ears (its
last Blackfoot owner, from whom it was obtained)
and from Mountain Chief. The pipe
had its origin so long ago that the name of the
first owner has been lost.

When the first owner of the Catchers Society 787
pipe bundle dreamed about it, the Blackfeet camp 778

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was situated about five miles above the site of the present town of McLeod, Alberta, and along Old Man river, at a place called Where They Paint The Raven Lodge. Near this camp was a buffalo fall, called *piskun*, at the foot of which the chief of the camp had a corral built. He was to direct the ceremony of "calling the buffalo" over the fall, being a buffalo-caller himself.[1] This man dreamed that a little boy came and invited him to his father's lodge. When he went there, he found that the lodge was in reality the *piskun*. As he entered, he was invited to sit in the rear of the lodge. Many buffalo-people were assembled, and he was informed that they formed the Catchers Society. Each member carried a warclub, at the end of each of which was tied a buffalo-hoof. The leader invited the chief to look up at the top of the lodge, where he saw two pipes hanging; these, he was told, belonged to the leaders of the society.

On the first night he was not permitted to witness the entire ceremony; but during the next night he again dreamed that the boy invited him to go to his father's lodge, and this time the pipes

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[1] In this connection see Gilmore, Old Assiniboin Buffalo-drive in North Dakota, *Indian Notes*, vol. I, no. 4, Oct. 1924, and an account of the Cheyenne Stone Buffalo-horn presented to the Museum by Dr. George Bird Grinnell, ibid., vol. IV, p. 150, Apr. 1927.

32: Wildschut E-5 (1923) 1928
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

were unwrapped and the transfer ceremony was performed. Four times he thus dreamed, and on each occasion was taught the ceremony and the songs. The buffalo-stones are placed in the pipe bundle because the first owner was a caller of buffalo; and for the same reason a buffalo-tail is fastened to the pipe. 787 778 575

The pipe bundles, therefore, as well as the Catchers Society itself, had their origin in the dreams of the original pipe-owner.

The following song belongs to the bundle: 533 778 575

This is my pipe; it is powerful.

This is sung while dancing with the pipe, which is held first in the crook of the right elbow, and then transferred to the left. [539] [535]

The following buffalo song also belongs to the pipe:

This man chief, he says he wants to eat rump fat. [539]
This woman, she says she wants to eat rump fat.
This is the piskun; leader do not turn.

While singing this song the left arm is held in a half-circle, indicating the rim of the *piskun*, while the right hand is moved edgewise over the curve of the left arm, representing the buffalo going over the edge.

The leader is powerful; I want to eat. [539]

778 (To this point the account of the origin of the
575 Catchers Society bundle is by Mountain Chief.
115 The following was communicated by Split Ears.)

796 Before the opening ceremony begins, a blanket
778 is spread at the head of the lodge, beneath the
575 bundle, which is suspended from one of the tipi-
425 poles at the back of the lodge. On this blanket
[431] are placed four gifts, usually pieces of trade
cloth. A fire is made in front of the pipe-owner
and his wife, and the latter brings from it an
ember with tongs. The owner sits at the right
of the bundle, facing the opening of the tipi;
[824] his wife is seated at the left. The woman places
incense (sweet balsam) on the ember, and both
man and wife alternately hold their hands in the
smoke, after which they pass one hand over the
other, and rub their hands alternately on the
arms, head, and body. During this process the
incense song is sung, with the following words:

[539] *The man says the incense is powerful.*

Before the smoking ember four buffalo-chips
[237] were placed in a row, but now cow-dung is used
for this purpose.

After this the following song is sung four times:

[539] *The man says we are taking the buffalo; it is powerful.*

32: Wildschut E-5 (1923) 1928
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

This is followed by the following, sung four times: 796 778 575 • 425 [539]

The woman says we are taking the buffalo; it is powerful.

During the singing of the last song, the woman again holds her hands in the incense, blesses herself, and rises. She stands ready to take the bundle down, and after the last repetition of the song actually does so and holds it over the incense, four times making a feint as if to put the bundle down, and, after the fourth, actually placing it on the blanket and the gifts.

The following song is now sung four times:

The blanket, it is powerful. [539]

With each singing of this song the wrapper is partially removed, and after the fourth time the bundle is entirely uncovered. The wrapper here referred to is a red shawl, such as covers every important Blackfoot bundle.

The woman now again holds her hands in the incense four times, and while the following song is sung, she begins to unite the strings of the parflèche containing the buffalo-stones.

Woman says we are taking the buffalo; it is powerful. [539]

32: Wildschut E-5 (1923) 1928
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

796 The woman takes the largest buffalo-stone
778 from the parflèche bag and hands it to her hus-
575 band, who prays to it. He then takes the pipe,
425 still in its wrapper, holds it first against his left,
[782] then against his right shoulder, blesses himself
with it, and puts it down again.

The woman now begins to untie the strings around the pipe wrapper, while the following song is sung:

[539] *Now you will see my pipe; it is powerful.*

After the covers are removed, the woman holds it four times over the incense and gives it to her husband, while singing:

[539] *I am giving you your pipe now; it is powerful.*

During this part of the transfer, the owner holds the incense stick and with it indicates the manner in which the pipe should be held by the new owners, changing it four times from one hand to the other. During this performance the following song is sung:

[539] *Old Man Above says he sees me; the earth is my medicine.*
Old Woman Above says she sees me; the earth is my medicine.

[782] The new owner of the pipe now prays to it,

32: Wildschut E-5 (1923) 1928
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

after which he hands the pipe to his wife, who 796
likewise prays to it. 778

The following song is now sung: 575•
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Old Man Above says my paint is medicine. [782]
[539]

The transferrer now paints the new owner with [302]
red paint and charcoal—a circle of red around the face, two black dots on each temple, and a black streak over the nose; a black circle is painted round each wrist and reaching three or four inches up the arm. The painting is done after three hesitations, and while singing the following song:

I am giving you my paint; it is powerful. [539]

The new owner now removes his old clothing [291]
and the transferrer hands him a new suit, after again hesitating three times and while singing the following song:

My clothes are medicine. [539]

The new owner gives his old clothes to the transferrer and dons the new ones.

The following song is next sung:

The man says my top feathers, they are powerful. [539]

During this singing the transferrer ties to the [301]
new owner's hair the hair attachment which is

796 wrapped in the pipe bundle, that is, the only part
778 of the bundle which was formerly taken out on
● 575 the warpath. The transferrer also ties the brace-
425 lets, to which the small buffalo-stone is attached,
[301] around the wrist of the new owner and of his
wife. (One of these bracelets is now missing.)

When this ceremony is ended the transferrer and his wife, and the new owner and his wife, rise and dance round the tipi, making four stops on the way. First comes the transferrer of the bundle, then the new owner, then the transferrer's wife, and lastly the wife of the new owner. During this dancing four wordless songs are sung.

The ceremony now completed, all present rise and dance, and the pipe is handed from one to another until it has been passed entirely around. During this dancing, in which the people do not move from their places, they sing the dance-songs, again without words. This closes the ceremony for that day.

The pipe is not bundled up after the ceremony. On the first night the new owner and his wife sleep on the right and the left side respectively of the exposed bundle, and do not rise until the former owner and his wife call the next morning
[824] before sunrise. As they enter the tipi they take a
[514] pinch of the sacred sweet balsam, chew it, and
spit lightly on the new owner and his wife and their blankets, and help them to rise.

their blankets, and help them to rise. Again they 000
perform the entire ceremony, singing all the songs 796
belonging to the bundle in proper rotation, thus 778
teaching the new owner and his wife the cere- 575 ●
mony. The previous owner then bundles up the 425
pipe.

During the second day the new owner is taught also the four wordless songs which belong to the Catchers Society bundle. The wife of the new owner is taught how to carry the bundle, which is placed on her back after the usual four movements.

Rattles are used while singing the buffalo- [534]
stone songs, and the dancing is accompanied with drums, but these instruments are borrowed for the purpose.

The tripod is used when moving camp, and 778
while taking down the tipi and setting it up again. [782]
Before bringing the pipe bundle into the tipi, incense always is made.

The pipe must never be placed on the ground, [276]
and when being smoked the bowl must rest on a [237]
special support wrapped with skin, which is a part of the bundle.

The Catchers Society pipe is sometimes taken 778
out during the Sun Dance ceremony, filled and 276
lighted, and smoke offered to the leading medi- [796]
cine-man, who in return prays for the pipe-owner [756]

648 encountered, but seldom made them a special object of
721 attack. The several tribes usually carried on their wars
[171] alone, but sometimes sought co-operation for defensive purposes or to undertake some enterprise of unusual magnitude. When such an alliance was desired, the tribe asking assistance despatched an envoy, charged with the message and a quantity of tobacco, to the tribe whose co-operation was desired. Upon the arrival of the envoy at his destination, he announced his errand, when a council was called to hear it more in detail. Presenting his tobacco, the envoy then interpreted in a speech what the tobacco said, which was the message he had been instructed to deliver. The council then deliberated upon the propriety of complying with the request; if a favorable answer was to be returned they smoked the proffered tobacco, by which they obligated themselves to do all in their power to forward the cause of their allies; if they declined their assistance, the tobacco
701 was returned unused. Payment for such assistance was
721 rarely tendered among the Blackfeet and never demanded. When the individual sought the assistance of friends to redress private wrongs a similar method of procedure was employed, but in this case a reward was usually proffered and accepted if the services were rendered.

PEACE

728 Peace was made only by the chiefs and soldiers in formal
622 council.

SOCIETIES

575 Among the Blackfeet there were no organization analo-
701 gous to our secret societies, but two fraternities existed which though small in numbers and importance demand notice. The first is the Dog Band, or The Dogs, a military association whose creed is never to flinch in battle. It is composed of young men distinguished for courage and address in war, but its obligations and practices render it unpopular and it seldom numbers more than fifty persons. It indulges at intervals in a begging tour of the village, entering at will into any lodge, dashing about on all fours, yelp-
[431] ing and catering in imitation of a dog. The Dog is only to

575 be got rid of by the making of the desired gift, but for
701 the annoyances the inmates of the lodge suffer by the un-
[431] ceremonious invasion they are entitled to treat the dog as if
he were indeed the animal he impersonates and cuff and
kick him to their hearts' content. This association is
[887] greatly dreaded. The old men have an organization known
as the Bull Band. The Bulls have no special creed, but are
old men of sense and discretion who have ceased to burn
with the fire of military ardor but are yet fit for active
service when it becomes needful or desirable. They number
seventy or eighty members and are held in considerable re-
pute and enjoy participation in the councils of the nation.
Each tribe of the Blackfeet has its own Dog and Bull
bands, but there is no connection between them.

CRIMES

692 If we except disobedience to the mandates of the Soldiers'
673 Lodge, the penalties for which we have already mentioned,
there were among the Blackfeet no recognized public wrongs
which the body politic, or state, as such was bound or ex-
pected to notice and mete out the punishment therefor.

[627] All crimes of whatever grade were purely private wrongs
and for which the Blackfoot code provided no penalty but
such as the injured party, himself, or his friends, was able
to inflict.

674 And if we accept as crimes only those offenses for which
custom had in some degree regulated the penalty, we find
ourselves reduced to a list of ridiculously small proportions,
comprehending in fact only larceny, adultery and homicide.
673 There were other wrongs which the individual might sus-
683 tain as assault and battery, or slander, but the injured
party was left to inflict upon the offender such punishment
as he chose or was able to inflict. And even larceny might
with more propriety have been assigned to that class of
wrongs, as reclamation of the property stolen was the only
685 positive right of the plundered party. Theft was rare except
in case of horses, and even this species of property was only
unlawfully taken from a fellow Blackfoot to enable the
ambitious young warrior who had no horse of his own to
secure a mount for a meditated foray or the love-sick swain

SOCIAL DANCES OF THE BLOOD INDIANS OF ALBERTA, CANADA

By Hugh A. Dempsey

535 [517] FOR decades, social dances have been an integral and vital part of the daily life of the Blackfoot. Whether it be the simple steps of the Rabbit Dance or the intricate movements of the Chicken Dance, these Indians of the southern Alberta prairies accept social dancing as the favorite relaxation and diversion from their daily [178] toil. Even in modern times, the Indian who drives a late-model car or wears a business suit picks up the rhythm of the drums in the same way as his nomadic forefathers did a century ago.

535 178 [184] The Bloods, a branch of the Blackfoot nation, are perhaps one of the outstanding examples of Indians who are preserving many of the customs of the old buffalo-hunting days. While the younger set among their allied relations (the North Piegans and Blackfoot proper in Canada and the South Piegans in the United States) prefer modern square dancing and box socials, the Bloods still retain many of their traditional rites.

535 The most important social dance among this tribe of 2,100 Indians is the *see-pass-tui-pusk-kah* or Owl Dance. A simple shuffling step, it has been known to these people for less than forty years, yet it has eclipsed in popularity almost every other social dance held on the Blood Reserve.

[171] The Owl Dance came to the Bloods during the early years of the First World War, in either 1914 or 1915, when it was brought into Canada by Bloods who had been visiting in the United States. Informants believe it was first seen by the Bloods on the Crow Reservation in southern Montana and was brought back either directly from there or by way of the South Piegan Reservation in northern Montana.

When it reached the Bloods, the Owl Dance replaced the old Night Dance, another social dance which is credited with origin in the United States. In this dance, the couples simply faced each other and bent their knees slightly in rhythm with the drums.

[121] [182] The Owl Dance won immediate popularity among the Bloods, and many of the customs accompanying the Night Dance and earlier ceremonies were adapted to this new dance. The method of organizing an Owl Dance depended largely upon the social life of the Bloods and their adaptation of early traditions. In order to explain the method of organizing the social dance, it will first be necessary to study their social system.

575 561 Almost all male members of the Bloods belong to one of the fourteen societies on the reserve. Of these societies, thirteen have age group limitations; the fourteenth is the Horn Society, a sacred organization which has endured since pre-treaty days. The following is a list of age group societies existing on the Blood Reserve in January, 1953.

	Name of Society	*Age Group*
No. 1	Crow Indians	Over 85
No. 2	Shell Necklaces	78 to 85
No. 3	Fast Horses	73 to 78

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No. 4	Big Holes in Ear Lobes	70 to 73
No. 5	Tall Hats	68 to 70
No. 6	Mad or Crazy Dogs	60 to 68
No. 7	Red Belts or Assiniboines*	52 to 60
No. 8	Good Riders—Eagles	46 to 52
No. 9	Grey Horses—Skinny Horses	36 to 46
No. 10	Small Change (Nickles and Pennies)	28 to 36
No. 11	Magpies	Under 28

* formerly the Pigeons

Two groups, Nos. 8 and 9, have been sub-divided into two societies by the Bloods because of the large membership and the great distances between camps. In each case, one is known as the up-river society and the other as the down-river society, but these are actually little more than sub-divisions of one group.

[424] [425] [178] At present, Bloods who are admitted to a society remain members of it for life. Previously, groups would purchase membership in an advanced society as they became older and sell their existing membership to a younger group. However, the recent years have produced an apathy towards this custom, with the result that no society transfers have been made for more than a decade. At present a Blood named Iron, aged 96, is the only living member of the Crow Indian society, and after his death the society will become extinct. However, in a generation from now the name may be revived by a new society searching for a name of historical importance.

535 575 561 578 The Blood societies are in constant competition to outstrip their opponents in any ceremonies or activities on the reserve, and social dancing has become the principal form of rivalry. In the above list, all even-numbered societies are allied and compete against the odd-numbered groups. Particularly keen rivalry takes place between any society and the group immediately above or below it. For example, if the Crazy Dogs were sponsoring a dance, they would attempt to surpass anything that the Tall Hats or Red Belts had organized in the past year.

535 575 561 In preparing for their dance, the Crazy Dogs might lack a good announcer or singer. If this were the case, they would ask one of their allied societies for assistance. When the dance night arrived, members of allied groups would volunteer for any tasks necessary to ensure the success of the affair.

A few years ago, it was the custom for dances to be held almost monthly, with opposing teams alternating their sponsorship in formal order from youngest group to the eldest. If this custom were still kept up, it would mean that the Magpies might take the January dance, the Small Change the February dance, Grey and Skinny Horses the March dance, and so on. However, the senior organizations, (particularly the Crow Indians, Shell Necklaces, and Fast Horses), have almost completely withdrawn from sponsoring their own dances, since none of them has a living membership of more than a dozen persons.

[178] In the modern sponsorship of Owl dances, the Bloods follow the original customs as closely as possible and particularly insist that two allied societies cannot sponsor two consecutive dances. In 1953 the Magpies, as the youngest group, sponsored the New Year's dance; the Small Change sponsored the pre-Lent dance; and the Grey and Skinny Horses were expected to sponsor the Easter dance.

535 177 Most of the social dances are held on recognized Christian holidays, as a com-

535 promise between the old and the new. The pre-Lent dance, for example, is the last
177 dance for forty days, as the Bloods, who are predominantly Anglican (Episcopalian)
[785] and Roman Catholic, forego dancing during Lent. This is the first year of the pre-
[795] Lent dance and is another step in the adaptation of native ceremonies to modern
customs.

575 Another sponsor of dances, as mentioned earlier, is the Horn Society. This totally
177 non-Christian religious group has also shown a compromise with the Church by spon-
[535] soring the annual Christmas Dance. A powerful society even today, the Horns play a
[796] vital role in the summer Sun Dance (*okan*) ceremonies, which are the basis of the
native religion of the Bloods.

575 Members for the Horns are taken from the age-group societies and, originally, were
561 changed every four years. However, the period of membership in the Horns has lately
varied from two to four years, depending upon the activity of the group. Membership
in this society is decided upon in an alternating pattern similar to the dance sponsor-
ships. For example, the Horn Society members were chosen from the Eagle society in
1951 and, upon the completion of their term, one of the odd-numbered societies will
provide the new members.

535] During the sponsorship of the Christmas dance, the Horns may also call upon the allies of their parent group for assistance. During the 1952 Christmas dance, the Horns, who were predominantly from the Eagles, were permitted to seek assistance from any of the even-numbered societies.

575 Thus, through this complex social organization, a keen and wholesome rivalry is
561 constantly being stimulated to produce the best dances. Some members are ordered to
535 provide food or soda pop; some decorate the hall and set the stage for the important
[578] night. Other members of the group, whether rich or poor, are solicited for gifts of cash
or blankets to meet the heavy expenses of the evening.

[626] In speaking to a member of the Magpies shortly before the New Year's dance, it was learned that he had been ordered to bring fifty sandwiches and would be fined $10 by his society if he failed to comply.

The recognized leaders of the society sponsoring a dance usually divide the respon-
sibilities as much as possible among their own group and then turn to their allies for
533 specialized assistance. The principal specialists needed for an Owl Dance are the
535 singers, a dance announcer, and the Chicken Dancers.

The singers both carry the tempo of the dance on the drum and accompany it with the traditional Owl Dance songs. Therefore, to make sure the music will be of the highest quality, the societies call upon certain members who are outstanding in singing for each dance sponsored by their allies. Such men as Percy Plainswoman, Harry Shade, and Alex Little Shield are typical examples of the singers who are most likely to be called upon whenever an allied society presents a dance.

So, too, with the dance announcer. This man is responsible for urging the people to dance and for announcing changes in the dancing routine. Both the even-numbered and odd-numbered societies have two or three elders who are particularly adept at announcing, and they are continually called upon to take part in the activities.

535 The Chicken Dancers are the men who provide the entertainment at the dance. After every Owl Dance, these gaily-clad performers strut onto the floor and imitate the intricate steps of a male prairie chicken vying for the favor of a hen. These dancers make use of sleigh bells, hoops, masks, feathers, and colorful clothing to put on an

532 were snake-painted tipis among three of the four major divisions of the
342 Blackfoot – the South Piegan (in Montana), and the North Piegan and Blood (in
Canada), while the North Blackfoot had a Big Snake (rattlesnake) tipi. He also
described one of these tipis (Wissler 1912: 220-22, 337-38).

[123] Ninety-five years after the unnamed Blackfoot artist pictured a snake-painted
tipi, I saw one of them, then owned by Yellow Kidney and his wife, in the sun
dance encampment near Browning. The snakes' heads were painted red, and
their bodies were alternating blocks of red and green, zig-zagging around the tipi
cover against a white background – much as they are pictured by the Blackfoot
artist in 1847. The bottom portion of the tipi cover was also painted red with
white discs, and three horizontal red bands were painted at the top of the white
background of the central portion – as in the earlier artist's rendering. The
upper portion (representing the night sky) was painted black, although the small
discs within that area (representing stars) were green on the Yellow Kidney tipi,
[178] whereas they are white in the artist's version of the snake-painted tipi. It is
significant that the design of this painted tipi changed very little over a period of
a century, during which it must have been repainted many times on new lodge
covers of buffalo cow skin and more recently of white cloth, or canvas.

532 The crescent-shaped moon (in black) and circular sun (orange) appearing in
776 the left center of the artist's work must be intended to show that Sun and Moon
were major supernaturals recognized by the Blackfoot. In the tribal mythology
821 Moon is considered to be Sun's wife, and Morning Star was their son. This
[773] relationship is repeatedly referred to in such well-known Blackfoot myths as
[796] Scar Face, and The Fixed Star (or The Woman Who Married a Star) – myths
which account for the origin of the sun dance, and the symbolism of the sacred
[778] digging stick carried by the medicine woman in that most important tribal
religious ceremony (Wissler and Duvall 1908: 58-68). On some of the dry-painting altars employed in Blackfoot ceremonies the moon is represented in
black paint as in the artist's drawing. But on the sun dance altar it is yellow, with
a narrow black center. It is always portrayed as a crescent (Wissler
1912: 254-57).

532 This leaves only the small panel at the bottom left of the plate to be
interpreted. Perhaps the artist chose to picture the pair of antelopes as a further
825 indication of the variety of sources of supernatural power known to the
[776] Blackfoot. The antelope might, of course, have been the artist's own
supernatural helper. The Blackfoot knew the antelope as the swiftest of the
larger mammals on the plains. Antelope power provided a war medicine.
[526] Contenders in the foot races between members of the different men's societies
[575] during the summer sun dance encampments also wanted antelope power to
enhance their swiftness afoot.

178 I was privileged to live among the Blackfoot Indians in Montana for three and
[123] one-half years (1941-1944) nearly a century after Father Point first brought the
teachings of Christianity to those Indians. Blackfoot life and culture had
[797] changed markedly during the intervening years. By the early 1940s less than 20%
[144]

555 burning incense associated with a medicine
[779] pipe held by twin fireplace owners.

[354] Informants knew of only five Bloods who had possessed both 30 buffalo tipis and twin fireplaces. These were the first Bull Back Fat, Tail Feathers Coming Over the Hill, Big White Child, Many Spotted Horses, and Steel. Even Seen From Afar, remembered by the Bloods as their greatest chief, had not performed the "dual" exploits necessary to gain this honor.

764 Therefore, Steel's final memorial—a 30
[555] buffalo tipi ring, with twin fireplaces, and
flanked with four radiating lines—would
[729] appear to be the greatest tribute that could
be paid a Blackfoot warrior chief.

In his later life, Steel was a progressive
Indian who lived in a log cabin, built cor-
[177] rals, and owned cattle and horses. Early in
1940, shortly before his death, he pitched
● [575] his large canvas tipi (of 30 buffalo size) a
short distance south of his home, in preparation for a meeting of the Horn Society—a secret organization which guides the religious life of the reserve. Although he used pegs, he also obtained stones to hold the canvas in place. Following the meeting, Steel showed his son, Bob, how to lay out the four directional lines.

Steel died at Standoff on April 7, 1940, and was buried on a hill near the Belly Buttes. His son, assisted by his sister, Mrs. Laurie Plume, then completed the "medicine wheel" in accordance with his father's last wishes.

[555] "The lines signify that he was a brave
man, a leader who had been to war," stated
[729] his daughter. "It was Steel's wish to have
this done as a proper tribute to a warrior chief." She added that, if he had not been entitled to it, the elders of the tribe would have quickly ordered the stones removed, as they were jealous of undeserved honors.

764 The Steel "medicine wheel" is located on
the Laurie Plume farm, three miles north
172 of Spring Coulee and about three-quarters
of a mile from St. Mary River.

The tipi ring portion is 27 feet in diameter (compared to Eagle Child's 12-foot ring) and contains 77 field stones. There is a three-foot entrance to the east which is flanked by two larger stones. The concentric lines are all 30 feet in length, with the stones

321 412

68. Spoon of mountain sheep horn.

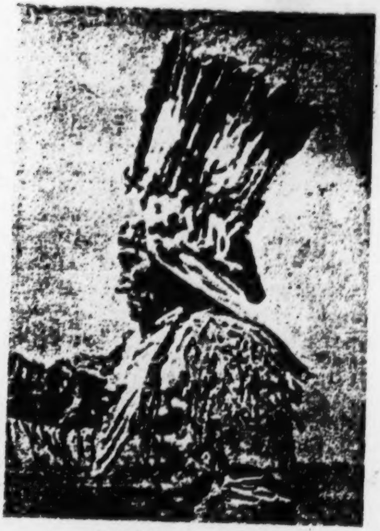
in the 1780's, small parties were accustomed to travel to the mountain valleys in the fall "to hunt the Big Horn Deer as their horns make fine large bowls and are easily cleaned." 321 224 175

To make a horn spoon, a horn of a buffalo or bighorn was thrown into a fire to fry out the gluey matter. Then it was taken out and, as soon as it was cool enough to handle, it was trimmed with a knife to the desired size and outline of the article for which it was intended. Next the horn was softened in boiling water to make it pliable. A stone of the desired shape was inserted in the bowl, and the handle was bent at the proper angle or arc and weighted down with rocks. The whole spoon was wrapped in skin or cloth until cool. Then the weights were removed, and the properly shaped, rigid spoon was nearly finished. All that remained to be done was to smooth the surface with a sand rock, grease it all over and polish it with the hand until it shone. 321 412

Feather Bonnet Making

The old style feather bonnet of the Blackfeet has a crown of vertical feathers, in contrast with the Dakota type of feather bonnet in which the feathers point upward and backward from the wearer's head. The traditional Blackfeet type is known as the "straight-up bonnet." In former times only acknowledged leaders were privileged to wear it. Headdresses of this type were part 292 [237] [554] [575]

[P-59-B]

 292
142

69. Straight up feather bonnet.

of the ceremonial paraphernalia of a society of older men known as the Bulls. Other "straight-up bonnets" were known to have had their origin in the dreams of powerful men who therein received instructions to make them. They were worn in ceremonies, on dress occasions, and in war. It took a very brave man to go into battle in a "straight-up bonnet," for his conspicuous headdress made him a marked man, a desirable target for enemy fire. 292 [575] [787] [555]

In making the typical "straight-up bonnet" a piece of thin rawhide was used for the base of the headband, cut to a length equal to that of the wearer's shoulders, and several inches wide. The piece of rawhide was folded on the long dimension. At evenly spaced intervals holes were cut in the rawhide along the fold for the insertion of the feathers. The feathers were cleverly attached to the headband so that the method of attachment was concealed from view after the bonnet was finished. Each feather 294 237 [824]

[P.60-A]

> his five fingers, with which he spun the web, upon which So-at-sa-ki was let down 821
> from the sky. Whenever you see half-buried and overgrown circles, or clusters of 342
> stones on the plains, marking the sites of Blackfeet camps in the ancient days, 773
> when they used stones to hold down the sides of their lodges, you will know why the half-circle of the stars was called by our fathers, "The lodge of the Spider Man."

In another place (McClintock, 1910, p. 492) Brings-Down-the-Sun, 342
in discussing the origin of the Sun Dance, pointed out:

> We know not when the Sun-dance had its origin. It was long ago, when the Blackfeet used dogs for beasts of burden instead of horses; when they stretched the legs and bodies of their dogs on sticks to make them large, and when they used stones instead of wooden pegs to hold down their lodges.

During the years immediately preceding 1909, Clark Wissler recorded information on the material culture of the Blackfoot Indians. He notes (Wissler, 1910, p. 108):

> During the winter, or even at any time, the cover of the tipi was often held down by stones laid on its edges. Circles of such stones are to be seen in many parts of the Blackfoot country, marking the sites of former camps or burial tipis.

Wissler (1913, p. 430) takes the following from Duvall's notes on the 346
construction of the Ma'toki dance structure made from lodge covers, [575]
with rocks to weight down the bottoms:

> The ma'toki dance but once a year when the camp circle is formed. Their [535]
> ceremony lasts four days. First they make a shelter somewhat like the one used [776]
> for the sun dance. A tipi pole is set up in the center, with a peculiar cross piece near the top. A number of travois are set in a circle around this pole and joined together by tipi poles tied along the top, making a single railing all the way around. Then other tipi poles are tied to this and to the cross piece on the center pole, forming rafters like in the sun dance shelter. On the sides and over the top are stretched tipi covers. At the bottom they are weighted with stones. Along the sides within blankets are suspended.

It has been noted that another neighbor of the Blackfoot, the Crow 342
Indians to the south, used rocks to weigh down their lodge covers. 171
During visits to the Crow Reservation during the period 1907–16, Lowie (1922, p. 224) obtained the following information concerning the practice:

> Bear-Crane stated that long ago rocks instead of pegs were used to weigh down the bottom of tipi covers; another informant restricts the practice to the winter season.

There are, perhaps, other documentary references to the topic that have escaped my attention, but those cited are numerous enough, it is believed, to indicate that the Blackfoot, Cree, Crow, Dakota, and probably other tribes in the northwestern Plains employed stones or occasionally sod as lodge-cover bottom weights. Our references cover the period from 1833 down to contemporary times, when stones are rarely seen, and the wooden tent peg appears to be ubiquitous.

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

Ki omá námaχkau áutòmomaχkau. Aitspyómaχkàs, ótapìsin itǽskunækiòp. Itǽsksksisiu: Nikáitåχpatsistòaχpi, onámai nitótoain. Ki itáitsotsistsinatomoau. Okóaii tǽmitsipìm. Matsisæmóa itomoóyi Mátokeks. Itsitápoχtoòiaiks. Itsitótòiaiks okóaii omá saiínikiu. A′ítotsinòkimaiaiks. O′ksòkoaiks ótoχkænsokomaχkokaiks. Ponokå′mitai, piápi, ǽunyaie nitsókomàχkiu. Ki omá stsíka ponopáni mátsinàmaχkau mátsitapoiau Mátokeks. Mátsinokimakàiks. Píapìi kákakàuo ótsokomaχkòaχpiaiks. Ki stsíkim iníkùim Mátokeks mátsitotsinòkimaiau. Ki ámoii píapi matakáuo mátsokomaχkòyiuaiks. Itonítsotsèiau: O′kí, anétakìt, ǽnni nínauàki, áχkitonìtoχsòp. Kitoχkémaiks apå′χpiskinisàu. A′inkauåχkìsiau. Sàámists itáisapoχkyàkiu, okámipuyisaàmists, atskináisaàmists. Mátsitaisapoχkyàkiu áuotànists, áiistsåχsatòmiau. Ninámiskaχkùiinnimànists matáiistsåχsatòmiau. Saáitsikoχkìniks mátåχkiniåχsatsìauaiks. A′påχsoyisokàsists mátaisapskåχsatòmiauaists. Sapæpístatsiks iχ′táutauanàuaχkìsiau, ækspíkainàmaiks mátoχtautauanàuaχkìsiau, ki omá námaχkau omí námaii otoχké-

they [the returning warriors] were 539
known: We shall have a circle 727
in sight. Then they [the people
in the camp] made a rush out.
We ran singing scalp-songs. Then [533]
they [the returning warriors] ran
through the camp. We were
shooting. We began to run across
one another.

And that one that got a gun
ran ahead [of his companions].
When he ran into the camp, we
— all the people — were shooting.
Then he told what he had
done: There he lies, where I shot
him down. I took his gun from
him. And then the women yelled
for him. He then entered his
lodge. After a short while the 539
Women-society gathered. They 727
[the women of that society] went 575
to him. They came to the lodge 555
of him who had killed [an enemy]
and counted coup. They had [535]
there a happy dance. All his
relations gave presents for him [431]
[to the dancing women]. Horses
[and] things were the presents
they made. And the Women-society
also would go to the other
one who had taken the quiver
and arrows and counted coup.
They also had a happy dance for 539
him [in his honour]. There were 727
many things given to them [to 575
the dancing women] by him [by 555
his relations] for presents. And 535
the Women-society would also [431]
have a happy dance for still
another one who killed an enemy.
And there were many things again [431]
given, to them by him [by his

539 man mátoχtautauanàuaχkìsin. Ki
727 akå´χtsimaie ómaχkètaχsin. A´u-
535 matapauaχkìsin ótakèsin. *A´*kai-
[555] kanistsinìm opokáiimatsists. A´ita-
[575] nistsinatsiaists ánni otsikékinaχ-
[431] soàts. Omá saχkínau námaχkau
[802] omí nápii kákitsitokapoχtasiu-
[292] anàakaie. Ki otáiapitaχskotokàie.

[293]

[533]
[555]

539 Ki omíma ómåχtsinìkiχ pim‸
726 otáutsapàakaie. Itsáipiu. Itáuauχ-
[721] kàntsimiuaie. A´isakayayìu ótakèsi-
na. Maiáiks moyísts spóχtsim
atokaípistàn ánnimaie taiχ´tsíu.
A´istæmauauaχkautsìm ksistsikús.
A´ikakaiåχtsimiàu námaiksa´χtàs.

relations]. They hurried one another: Come on, make haste, all of you, men, that we may have the scalp-dance. You must put paint on the faces of your wives. They [your wives] will shake their heads [dance]. They [the men] put on the war-bonnets, the war-bonnets with tails down the back [literally: the war-bonnets standing straight up], [and] the horn-war-bonnets. They [the men] would put on shields, they would pack them on their backs. They would also pack medicine-pipes on their backs. They put sleigh-bells on their necks. They also put on weasel-tail-suits. Some of them would use spears as canes while dancing, others would use bows as canes while dancing, and the wife of him who had taken the gun would use that gun as a cane while dancing. And there was a big scalp-dance. Now the women began to shake their heads [to dance]. They already held their fans. They [the fans] looked like snow-birds [literally: shoulder-bone-tail-feathers]. That young man that took the gun was just led round about through the crowd by an old man. And he [this old man] was singing old man's songs [praises] to him.

And he was pursued by those people, one of whom he had killed. [They came near the Peigan camp.] Then they [the Peigans] made a charge on them. Then they [the Peigans] had a fight with them. All the women ran out fast.

‸ [Erratum: this should read ómåχ tsinìkiχpim--Analyst] their poles. When he had done chopping the poles, he put his lodge up. We called it: „he has a new lodge". That is what I know about the lodges. 539 242

[Cf. Wissler mcbi 63 sq. 99 sqq.]

Note on the societies.

Omík apætóχtsik ománikâpisina, sauumâ´χkænækàtsiis, manístsakàmotsĩĩχ´piàu nitâ´χkanòiau. Nitáiniχ‵kataiàu Sistsíks. A‵ksipummòaiau, Kakuíks ǽnniksaie otsipúmmokoàiau. Iχ´pisústuyìmiauaie. Nâχkitsíppumoyìau uskáuaiks. Ostóauai otsipúmmokoaiàu Soisksíssiks. Mátoχpisustuyìmiau. Ki uskáuaiks mátsitsipummoyìau. Ki ostóauai Mátsiks onóχkatsipummokòaiau. Mátoχpisustuyìmiauaie. Uskáuaiks mátsitsipummoyìau. Ostóauai átsòmitàiau. Iχ´pisústuyìmiauaie. Uskáuaiks mátsitsipummoyìau. Ostóauai áisoyìau. Mátoχpisustuyìmiau. Mátsitsipummoyìau uskáuaiks. Ostóauai áistoχpàtakìau. Mátoχpisustuyìmiau. Mátsitsipummoyìau uskáuaiks. Ki ostóauai áumitauàsiau. Kǽnnimaie Káinaikoãn iχ´ksksínoyiu iχ‵kænǽkàtsiiks. Otsauomítaiχ´tsisì itsítstsìi iχ‵kænǽkàtsiì nitáiniχ´kataiàiks Stǽmikiks, Iínuakiks, ki Sinopáiks. Annóχk nátokaie aχkúiinnimànists sákaiχ´tsists. Iínnaki aχkúiinnimàuiau. Amóksi Sinopáiks sinopáutokis ki

539 561 575 Long ago the young men, before they entered any society, were going together according to their being of the same age. They were called Birds. They would be initiated, the Doves were the ones that initiated them. They were four years with it [in that society]. Then they initiated their younger brothers. They themselves were initiated by the Flies. They were four years again with it [in that society]. And again they initiated their younger brothers. And they themselves were initiated by the Braves. They were four years again with it [in that society]. Again they initiated their younger brothers. They themselves became Brave-dogs [Crazy-dogs]. They were four years with it [in that society]. Again they initiated their younger brothers. They themselves became Tails. They were four years again with it [in that society]. Again they initiated their younger brothers. They themselves became Crow-carriers. They were four years again with it [in that society].

539 aksipístaa otsinánoai. A′isippuyi
561 stuyísts itsístaainoaχpi Sinopáiks.
575 I′soiiks otsínnaimoài ápàχsoiotokà′n ísokàsimìn.

[778]

[292]

Again they initiated their younger brothers. And they themselves became Dogs. That is all that Blood knows about the societies. Before he was [born], there were societies that were called the Bulls, the Catchers [the Soldiers], and the Kit-foxes. Now there are two pipes still in existence. They were the pipes of the Catchers. The Kit-foxes had a kit-fox-hide and a tied bent stick. Forty years ago the Kit-foxes were seen the last time. The chief of the Tails had a coat of weasel-fur.

[Cf. GRINNELL blt 104 sqq. 219 sqq., WISSLER-DUVALL mbi 105 sqq., WISSLER albi 25 sq., Mc CLINTOCK ont 445 sqq., and especially LOWIE a 75 sqq., where the different problems relating to the age-societies of the Plains Indians are discussed.]

The Doves and the Braves.

539
575 A′nisoyi nítstuyìmisists, nitsítoχkaχkatsi, nitsítsikakoi. Nisótæmanistsksiniχ′p íkìtamapi. Nimátstaχpa, ísoχtsik áksikiχ′kìnnàpi, nitsksinís otsítamàpis, áipæskàsau nitákaiiks. Einí otáuauikoaiau nínaiks, máχkokakiχ′kotoaχsau, matápi kanáitapi máχkstaiksis, íkaistapoàkimai. A′nnaiksaie áskskamìau. Ki omá matápiu ákauàkimau, áksiksàsiu. Einí itæχkánnautsimotàu. Omá matápiu áuàkimau, otsítsinok Kakúyiks,
[224]

When I was eight years old, I joined a society, I became a Dove. I then knew this about it, that it was a very happy thing. I did not think, that it would be lonesome in the future, as I knew, that those were happy times, when my partners danced. They were told by the chiefs, that they should watch the buffalo, that there would be no person out of all the people, that would start to chase the buffalo.

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

otsítanakokàiks, otsítsinokaiks, otsítsinàtapitsiikaiks. Ki omí otsínaimoauai osókàsimi otsitǽnnitsininutomòk. Otoχkænáistotòχsists iχ´kanáuænnitsinotomoàuaists. Káksistomiu, kǽnnyaie itóto okóaii. Mátsitstsipa áχksistsìtaki. Ostói otátsàpsinai, iχ´tǽnnitsinotomoau. A´utòiau, àkokátsis. Tǽtsikaχtsim okóauau, paiotákokìop.

Otsítanikoaiau otsínaimoauai. Omá otómæχkakàuaiau ki ǽnnyaie amóks otǽkàuauaiks itanístsiuaiks, kanáipuχsapuχsau. Ki otǽmokoaiau. Maistáuanok áitåχkaunipìmiau. Itokákiχ´tsimaiau, mǽχksipæskàniau. Apinákusi áiàksipæskàii Kakuíks. Apinákus itsipǽskaiau. A´ipæskàiau, asáni ostúmoauaists itåχkǽnausoksksìau. O´χpsòauaists okímmanoàuaists aitakópiiau saå´χtsim. Omíksi otómæχkakàuaiau anníksi otápæskokòaiau. O´miks akimóχtsiks anníksi nínaii. Túkskæma

They were the watch-men. And 539
[if] a man would chase the buffalo, 575
he would hide. The buffalo 224
would all run away [scared by the
man that chased them secretly].
[When] a man was chasing the 539
buffalo [by himself], he was seen 575
by the Doves, he was chased 627
by them, he was caught by them,
he was thrown down off his horse
by them. And their chief tore
his clothes [viz. of the man that
was chasing by himself] to pieces.
All his clothes were torn to pieces.
He was just naked [literally: he
just had a body], [when] he
came to his lodge. There was
no person, that might become
angry [when he had been treated
that way]. It was his own foolishness,
that he had his clothes
torn. They [the Doves] went by 539
themselves, when they [the Peigans] 575
were camped in a circle.
In the centre [of the circle] was
their lodge, it was built out of
two lodges.

They were ordered by their chief [as follows]. Their oldest partner told their partners, that they should all come to him [the chief]. And so they [the Doves] were invited [to their chief's lodge] [by mouth of the oldest partner]. They all entered Crow's-tail-feather's lodge [Crow's-tail-feather was the name of their
chief]. They decided, that they 539
would have a dance. Next morning 575
the Doves would have a 535
dance. Next morning they danced.
[When] they had the dance,

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

539 apí'si otsináni ki *á*pssì. Túksk*a*ma
575 áuanàyiu, ki mátopiu. Ki ómiks
535 nátok*a*mi ot*a*χkúikakòiau. Ki
ómiksim nátok*a*mi ipotóχtsiks
*á*nniksimaie kyáiek*a*kòiau. Nisoóyi otspíuåχsoàuaists.

Aisap*é*nnistsoaìiists, ítoχk*a*nautsimotàun. Itáisaipìiau, akéks ómoχtapaisummospiau. K*é*nnyaie áitapsaipìiau. Ksip*á*mmànists iskun*á*katsimiauaists. Itáisaikimiskàiau. Aiksuósau, akókàtsists itáutakòiau. Imitáiks ápàuyiau. Tsísiks mátauyiauaiks. A'istunniauaiks. Aiksuósau, mátsitàumatapòtsimiau máχksoatòχpiau, áχsiists íksisakuists. K*é*nnimaie okóauai, t*a*tsikíakokèuaχsini. Itå'χkanaipstsipoχtòmiau otáksoåχsoauai. O'miks Ot*a*χkúik*a*kuiks áuyòsiau, Kyáiek*a*kuiks *á*nniksaie áutomisoyìauaiks. Nepúsi túkskai nisoói áip*a*skàiau. Itáiksuòiau. Ot*á*st*a*kakoaiau óm*a*χkakunakàtsiks. Otáuanikoaiauaiks, máχk*a*sks*a*mmoχsàua kanáitapì. Aut*a*mákoχtòmiau óχpsòsuaists okímmanoauaists. A'iksiuoiau op*á*skanoauai, mátatstunnatàpsiauaiks. A'netoiau, mist*á*ki itapístutsìau, mátatap*a*skàuaiks. Stuyís túksk*a*m[illegible]einí áuauakimàiau.

they put the paint all over their bodies. With their arrows and their top-knots they sat outside in a circle. Their oldest partners were the ones that made them dance. Those at the upper end were the chiefs. One of them had a coyote-skin and an arrow. Another of them had a rattle, and he had also an arrow. And two of them were called the Yellow Doves. And there were two in the lower part of the circle, that were [called] the Bear-Doves. They danced four times.

When [the dances] were completed, all the people would run away. They [the Doves] made a charge on [the place], where the women got water. There it was, [that] they made a charge. They shot at the water-bags. Then they [those bags] leaked. When they stopped [shooting], then they went around the circle-camp. They shot at the dogs. They did not shoot at the bob-tailed ones. They were afraid of them [of the bob-tailed dogs]. When they stopped, they began to take something that they might eat, choice meat. There was their lodge, the lodge in the centre. They brought everything, that they would eat, in [to their lodge]. The Yellow Doves cooked, the Bear-Doves were the ones, that they [the Doves] fed first. In one summer they danced four times. They stopped. The older members of the society relied on

Mátsiks nistóa nitáiikoputostuyìmi nimátsitoχk*a*n*a*kàtsi. Itsipúmmotsèiau aχkúiinnimàn. Itsítsapiχ´takiu píksistsimàn. Itsitsípim omím moyísim. Omí Mátsi itoχkútsiuaie aχkúiinnimàn. Otáukotoχsàie omí aχkúiinnimàn, ánistsiuaie: Kit*á*tsiàtsisi noχkoχkókit. Ki omá Mátsiua ánistsiua: A´, kítoχkot. A´nistsiuaie: A´uke, ksáχkuma itsínit. Kàksimí itst*a*kít. Sip*á*tsimoii ákoχtamatòsimaup. Kamiχ´t*á*stsiu, *á*nnimaie kitákitamatòsim. Åχké kó'sa asáni ákoχtsiksistsikìmistau. Otsítanikaie: *A*nisóminìt. Ki omá manikå´piua áisòminiu. Ki omím ksistsikímistàni asáni ts*á*piχ´tsiu. Ki itótsimaie. Otoχk*a*náistumì asáni iχ´toχk*á*nauanistutsìp. Sikúi síkoχtàii iχ´tsákoapiniåχpiskiu. Maiáii okakíni it*á*taikàtau. Imakáχsisi maiáii ákataikatàinai. Túkskai matsikísts *á*nnyaie nitsúyi ostói itótstsists. Iχ´kanáuanistutoiau ot*á*kaiks. Mátsiks áiksistsìppummòaiau.

them [the young Doves]. They [the 539
young Doves] were told by them 575
[the older members], that they 535
should watch all the people. Then they fixed up their arrows [and] their top-knots. [When] they had stopped their dancing, they were not dangerous. They separated, they moved to the mountains, they did not dance any more [during that summer]. In winter the only thing they chased was the buffalo.

I was thirteen years old, when 539
I became a member of the society 575
of the Braves. They gave a pipe to 276
one another. He [the youth that entered the society] put in the tobacco with other weeds. He entered the lodge. He gave the pipe to a Brave. When he had given him the pipe, he said to him: Give me your Brave-badge.
And the Brave answered him: 539
Yes, I give it you. He [the Brave]
told him: Now, touch the earth. 575
Put sage there [on the earth]. We shall use sweet-grass for incense. You will make your incense with the buffalo-chip-fire. We shall make the paint liquid in the cup of water. Then [the Brave] told him: Now take off your clothes. And the young man [that entered the society] took off his clothes. And the paint was in the liquid. And he took it. And he put the paint all over his body. With the black paint, the black liquid, he was painted that way beneath each eye, that it looked like tears. There was a round hole

539
575

Mātsísini otsínaimoaiau áua-
nàyin. Amóksi apátsiau, ki amóksi
kápαmàni, kenní túkskαm síksi-
ksàtsi, ki ómiks nátokαmi Kyái-
atsiks. Ikóksinàmiau. Ki áipαs-
kàiau, otsinánoauaists ómoχtai-
539 pαskaχpuauaists mistsísau, istoái
575 mínoχkoχtsi. Ánniksaukiaiks its-
535 tsíanaiks. Ánniksi iχ′táiχ′piiau.
Ksaχkúmi itástautoyìau. Omíksim
Kyáiatsiks aiχ′písau, ki amóksi
otsítstautoau itáisautoyìau. Omíksi
ikáistunnoyìau. Itáksiksuoiau.
Itáiksistsipαskàiau, âχkéists ómαχ-
ksikimists táutaipìau. Imakáχsisi
matsikyóauaists, itáiistàpiksìmiau-
aists. Itauáχkaĩìau akókàtsi, itáu-
takòiau. Omíksi otómαχkakau-
aiauaiks itáipuyìaiks. Ákaisoatsis-
tsisaapùyi. Á′iakαnaitsiniotakìi.
539 Mátsiks áiakàpotaχkàiau. Amáu-
575 pit, áiaksiniχ′kì ikáiks. Minát-
sistsèkinit. Apinákusi áiakopakìau.

cut in the back-part of his robe. Even if his robe was very good, there would be a hole cut in it. His moccasins were the only thing, that was left on him. All his partners were treated the same way. The Braves had done being initiated.

The *chief of the* Braves had a rattle. There were [two] White Braves, and there were [two] owners of water-bags, and one owner of a willow-switch, and there were two Bear-Braves. They were very mean. And [when] they [these Bear-Braves] danced, the things that belonged to them, they were dancing with, were sticks, and a knife at the end [of each stick]. There they put [the knife]. With those things they danced. They stuck them [the sticks] in the ground. When the Bear-Braves danced, then they pulled out those [sticks] that they had stuck in [the ground]. [The people] were very much afraid of them. They would quit. [When] they had done dancing, they ran to the waters of lakes. Even if their moccasins were good, they threw them away. [When] they went back [to] the circle-camp, they went around. The older members were standing there. They [the Braves] gave orders [to the main camp] not to go about [out of their lodges]. They would tear them [the people] to pieces [if they did not obey]. The Braves were going around to get leggings.

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

Ki ostóauai Mátsiks túkskæmiau ákàpsæmiau einíi, ómoχtapakaiip. Kénniχ´kaie ákoχtsistutsìau. Aukêkau. Amóksi Mátsiks itsinóyiau einí. Otótoχsau, itáipuyìau. A´uanìau: Mátsæmapitsipùyiχ´pa imakétukskæ̀mi. Aistǽmæsksinip, akaiími einí. Kanáitapiua áitamitakìu. Ǽnni áuaniau. Anísau „akaiími einíua", mátsitstsìpa einí. Kanáitapìua aistǽmæsksinim, mátsitstsìpa einí. Ki omí matápi ákiniauaie, otákanikoaiauaie: A´uke, ámoists nitsinánists. Kítoχkotoχpuai. Anítsiniòtsika. Mátakanitsiniotsìma. Anístæsaie „minǽnitsiniòtsit", ki otákæ̀nitsiniotòkaiks. Kénna ánistsiuaie: Anítsiniòtsit, anítsiniotomòkit. Kénna ánianistæ̀pi áuanistsiua: Ksistóa noχkoχkókit. Omá mátàkoχkotsìuats. A´nistæsàie „minoχkókit", kipanístsi otákoχkòkaie. Omá Matsíu apókapitapìu. Istoχkanáuapokapitapiu. Omá Mátsiu otsitapíuaχsini, ǽnnyaie ænistǽpitapìau. Amóksi Mátsiks apókapitapìau. A´iksistsipæskàiau, ánetòiau. A´isoksinimiau ómoχtaipæskaχpuaua. Nitúyi mistǽkists istæpístutsìau. Ki nisoóyi túkskaie nepúyi opǽskanoauaists, ki itauánetòiau. Ki ánetapaitsikinimaii imitáiks.

[They would say:] Be quiet, the 539
medicine-lodge-makers [the wo- 575
man, that gives the medicine-lodge, and her husband] are going to sing. You must not make noise. To-morrow in the morning we shall move.

And the Braves alone would 539
look for the buffalo, where there 575
were the most. That way [as 224
they were told by the Braves] they [the Peigans] would move. They [after having moved] were
camped. The Braves had seen 539
the buffalo. When they came 575
back, they talked among them- 195
selves. They said: There was none [no buffalo] standing about, [not] even one. Then we just knew, that there were many buffalo. All the people were happy then. Thus they [the Braves] would say. When they said „There are many buffalo", then there were no buffalo. All the people then just knew, that there were no buffalo. And [when] they would catch a person, he would say to them: Here are my things. I give them to you. Tear them up. [Then] they would not tear them. If he said to them „Do not tear them", then they would tear them. And [therefore] some person would tell them: Tear them up, tear my things up. And some other person would ask him [the spokesman of the Braves] for one or another thing: Give it to me. Then he [the spokesman of the Braves] would not give it. If he [that person]

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

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said „Do not give it to me", then he would give it to him in a hurry. A Brave was a person with whom everything was reversed. He was a person with whom everything was most reversed. What belonged to one Brave [that means: what is said about a Brave in general], that kind of people they were *all*. The Braves were people with whom everything was reversed. [When] they had done dancing, they separated. They took each of them their own things with which they had danced. The same way [as the Doves did] they [the Braves] would move to the mountains. And four times in one summer were their dances, and then they separated. And the dogs are scratching the ground [after having eaten] [that means: the story is at an end].

[Cf. Grinnell blt 222 sq., Wissler-Duvall mbi 105 sq., Mc Clintock ont 449 sq. 455 sqq.]

Child-birth.

539 Omík apatóχts akéks aiáksists-
844 istomaiks okóauaists mátsitaipsts-
istsistomiuaiks. Saȧ′χtsi itauápi-
539 omoaiau. Stsíkiks únnoauaiks okó-
844 auaists ánnimaie aitapóiau. Nitúyi
343 nitsitásapiomoàii. A′istsistòmis;
piχ′ksúyi ksistsikúyi itáikamotàii.
Iχ′tsíiitaipsistsistomiau akéks okó-

Long ago women, that were about to give birth to a child, did not give birth to it in their own lodges. Outside [of their lodge] there was a shade built for them. Some [of the women] went to their fathers' lodges. In the same way there was a shade built

126 discoveries which bore upon my own culture, and upon my personal self.

My original journal was very detailed and very long, but not all portions of this volume appeared therein. Some of the Chief's stories were on tape and had to be transcribed in their entirety and inserted in a manner duplicating the time and the place of their original telling. Also, my subsequent visits with the Chief—and I have been spending more and more time among the Piegans—have produced additional information which has been added in the form of footnotes. Otherwise, nothing has been changed—and absolutely nothing has been contrived: these are the words and the actions; these are the feelings and the thoughts; these are the people.

622 Most important, of course, are the people, and foremost among
the people is the Chief. At this writing, the Old Fellow is well—and
[575] as dynamic as ever. His birthday was on May 10, but I gave him his
birthday party on Sunday, May 8, in conjunction with a meeting of
[527] the Crazy Dog Society. (I have been elected a member of the Crazy
[123] Dogs.) No record of the precise date of the Chief's birth has been found, but since everything else he has ever told me has eventually checked out 100%, I accede to the Chief's belief that he was born on May 10, 1857, and consequently has just celebrated his 109th anniversary—assuredly he is well past the century mark.

622 Some time ago, the Chief told me that both his birth and his
baptism had been recorded by a Roman Catholic priest whom he
127 knew only by his Indian name, "Marten Cap," and it was in pursuit of my belief that "Marten Cap" was in reality a Jesuit missionary named Fr. Imoda that I came closest to establishing (verifying) the Chief's true age. In the records of old St. Peter's Mission, dated Dec. 31, 1875, entered in the hand of Fr. Imoda himself, I came upon the following: "*Ego C. Imoda S.J. prope flumen Natokiokas bapt. seq.* [I, C. Imoda, of the Society of Jesus, near Two Medicine River, baptised the following]." Listed then, in both English and Latin, were the baptismal names of seven of the children of Onistáipokah, the Chief's father. The Chief's Christian name ("James *Jacobum*") was among those listed, but since the Chief was by this time a well grown youth, and since Fr. Imoda was able to give only an approximation of his age at the time of baptism, the mystery lingers.

178 This journal, *Piegan*, was written less than four years ago, but
those four years have seen many changes, both great and small,
[657] here on the Reservation. In Browning in "Moccasin Flat," there is
[511] scarcely a dwelling that does not now have inside water, electricity
and a television set (but precious few of them have an inside toilet).

Here on the ranch, in addition to the fact that the Chief has de- 178
veloped a passion for Juicy Fruit gum and chews five sticks at a
time, I would list as our major changes: the refrigerator which has
replaced the pantry, and the electric percolator which has put the
old granite coffee pot out of business excepting on days such as today
when the power lines are down. (Brother Jim being brother Jim,
we do not have an ordinary percolator but a huge thing that makes
35 cups at a throw and stands so high on the cupboard that you
can't get the doors open.) Brother Jim, like the Montana weather, is
one of those things that will never change because they are com-
pletely unpredictable to begin with. It is June, but since last night 132
a mountain blizzard has been whistling snow against the west side 354
of the house, and as Jim came in this morning with an armload of
fuel for the woodstove (which is still our source of heat around
here) he said, "Goddam, I had enough of this goddam windy!"

Both Jim and the Chief have gone into town to prepare for the 575
Crazy Dog dance which will begin at Mrs. Big Spring's house at 796
about 1100. I will take my Crazy Dog rattle and drive in to join 178
them, and I know that at the dance I will be impressed by the one
change among the Blackfoots that really touches me. So many of the 000
old people are gone now: Chewing Black Bones, Dan Bull Plume,
Juniper Old Person, Jim White Grass, Cecile Last Star, Fish Wolf-
robe—so very many others. I miss them, and it is to their memory,
as well as to the Chief, that this book is dedicated.

RICHARD LANCASTER

White Calf Ranch
Blackfoot Indian Reservation,
Montana
June 4, 1966

[p. 8 is blank]

resident described them, "A bunch of young drunks and wife-beaters." 625
In Browning the cops do not have any police training and
the magistrates do not have any legal or judicial training, and the
whole law enforcement situation is really pretty sad. But Jim explained
to me that this had not always been the case. He explained [575]
that the Chief's old warrior society, the Crazy Dogs—a very highly
honored society to which one had to be elected—had not only been
extremely fierce in battle but had functioned among their own people
as camp police, attending to those various disciplines necessary
to the maintenance of a neat and orderly encampment. The Chief's 622
position of Captain of Indian Police was a logical extension of his 625
authority as head of the Crazy Dogs, and Jim assures me that when
his dad was in office the Indian Police were a functional and respected
group. Jim says that the Chief was not afraid of any living
man, Red, White, Black or Yellow, and that he slapped troublemakers
in the pokey with complete disregard for their color, social
standing or political influence. This, of course, did not sit very well
with the Whites and "high-breeds" who, like the pigs in *Animal
Farm*, considered themselves to be "more equal." And since the Chief
was one of the original "untouchables"—you couldn't kill him, scare
him, or buy him off—he was eventually forced from office.

Interestingly enough, though, the Crazy Dog Clan is still in existence, 575
and it still functions. The Piegans are not often inclined to 625
present their grievances before the local courts—and who can blame
them!—but the Crazy Dogs have been known to call upon a thieving
neighbor or an improvident husband and to employ their own persuasions
toward reformation.

When Dad and Jim got home this evening, shortly after six, Jim 122
informed me (with ill-concealed I-told-you-so) that one of the
Tribal Council members is in jail "for drunk." ("He was pick up with
drunk driving.") Jim had bought pork and beans, sweet rolls, white
bread, Bull Durham and cigars. I have learned to anticipate Jim's
contributions, and I had countered them by purchasing canned
vegetables, blackberries, cherries, applesauce, fresh grapes, pipe
tobacco and a new pipe for the Chief (on "Special" at Buttrey's).

At supper we gave the moose a rest and ate eggs, pork and beans,
canned mixed vegetables, bread, and coffee tea or milk. Coffee is 122
Áh-siks-eh-kim-meh, but tonight, while requesting a second cup, Jim 195
used the term, *Óch-koh-tóke*, and this launched us into a noun vocabulary
session which lasted all during the meal and for about an
hour thereafter. The phrase, *óch-koh-tóke*, literally means, "like a
rock," and Jim explained that the Canadian Blackfoots commonly

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> were refused the comfort of entering Sun's lodge and making offerings to Those Above. Daily from lodge to lodge they begged for work and food and the privilege of sleeping near the doorway. None liked to look at them, so closely did their faces resemble the face of a human skull.[55]

Facial mutilation is a harsh penalty for adultery. When it is accompanied by ostracism from the community and denial of religious rights, it is brutal. Yet, it appears from Schultz that such treatment for shaming one's husband was not uncommon, and according to the illustrations in Blackfeet and Buffalo (pp. 352-353), It-si-yi-niki, the last of these cut-nosed women, died as recently as 1930. This is a definite statement of the relationship between goodness, success, and appearance. There are, however, other ways of manifesting goodness beyond the avoidance of beatings or brutality.

575 175 574

> In the evening I was invited to a feast given by Big Lake. Rising Wolf, was also a guest along with a number of other staid and sober men. Young men seldom feasted and smoked with their elders, and in the camp there were many coteries, or social sets, just as we find them in any civilized community, with the exception that there was no jealousy or rivalry between them; no one felt that its members were in any way better than the members of another set.[56]

[561] [888]

Equalitarian social sets associated with generous feasting were typical of the age-graded Blackfoot society of this period. Although rank and decision-making power did reside in the hands of the older and spiritually more powerful men, to some degree this was primarily a function of age and chance.

000 and chance. But there was only limited jealousy and compe-
●575 tition between social sets, whereas the various age-grades
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[574] were as groups deemed rivals. Obviously institutionalized generosity and hospitality were important during this period.

> 554
> 175 He came singing, waving his rifle; he halted and said: "What happiness, this running and killing buffalo. I killed eight. How many, you?"
>
> "Five. We have killed too many; the meat of four will be a big load for our wagon. The rest will be wasted. I take shame for us," I said.
>
> "Not so. We should have killed more. I forgot to tell you that I told some of our people camped back of your tradehouse to trail us and we would give them of our kills. They will be here. We should have killed more."
>
> This made me feel better. As we were butchering one of my kills, our teamster came and got busy, and a little later a number of Eagle Head's Blackfoot friends and relatives arrived, men and women with pack horses and travois horses, fell to work--happily chattering and singing as they plied their knives. They were all old men and women, some of them widows, and sincere in their praise of us for giving them of our kills.[57]

Here we find praise associated with sharing one's bounty, and converseely shame was the result of waste. Recognition was related to economic security and to generosity, and, of course, such success in hunting as in anything else comes
782 from skill, experience, and some diligence. Schultz also
175 notes that generosity was also associated with worship,

> . . . Nat-ah'-ki said: "How good was the Sun to keep us unharmed through this great danger." I am sure she voiced the sentiments of all. The next day I noticed that the trees and high bushes bordering the river were bright with the people's offerings or sacrifices to their god. They always gave of their best, their choicest and most prized ornaments and finery.[58]